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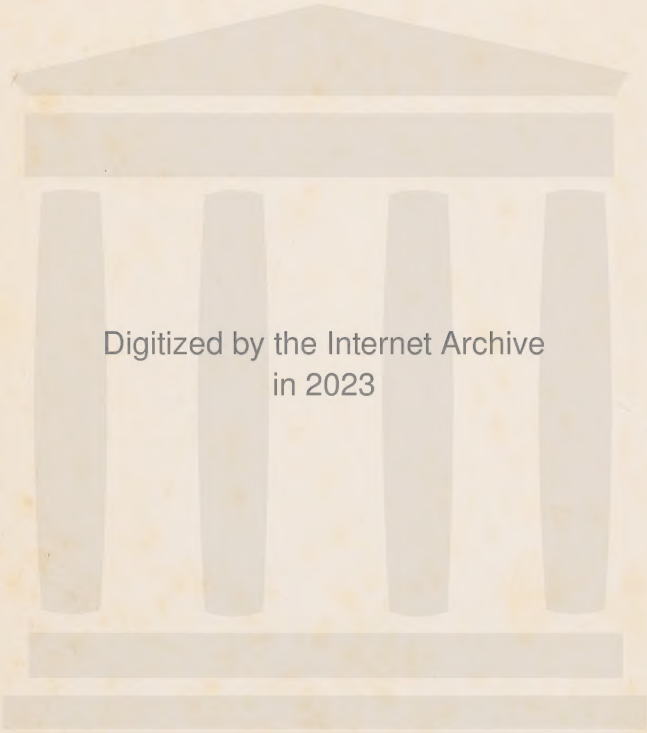

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THE MANOR AND PARISH CHURCH OF HAMPSTEAD AND ITS VICARS

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HAMPSTEAD PARISH CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH.
1905.

Frontispiece.

THE MANOR

AND

PARISH CHURCH OF HAMPSTEAD

AND ITS VICARS

BY

J. KENNEDY, M.R.A.S.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED)

WITH TEN ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAP

LONDON

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PREFACE

THIS little book was written for, and is published at the expense of, the trustees of the Hampstead Parish Church. Its primary object is the ecclesiastical history of the parish; but as the church is the one institution which has survived from the beginning to the end of Hampstead history, and as it was the centre of the village life, this work embraces, although in less detail, the social and economic history of the place. Its first appeal is, therefore, to those who are interested in what was once an independent hamlet, and is now a suburb of London; but it may possibly interest some who are outside this circle. It is the property of local history to supply concrete and definite illustrations on a small scale of what is represented in a larger, but vaguer, way in the history of the country; in other words, local history is a part of the great historical drama, divided into the same acts, but not with the same scenes. Hampstead is connected only in the most superficial way with any of the great scenes of English history. Jack Straw and his peasant rabble probably passed through Hampstead on their way

from St. Albans, and the Guards may have marched through Hampstead to Finchley in 1745 when they went to oppose Prince Charles Edward and his Highlanders threatening to loot London. But the good folk of Hampstead minded none of these things, and went on with their own business; nor were they more kindly disposed to the Gordon rioters, the half-drunken, half-criminal mob which surged into Hampstead, and overflowed into all the public-houses on their way to burn the residence of the Earl of Mansfield. These things scarcely disturb the flow of Hampstead history, and find no place in this volume; but, on the other hand, the reader will here find illustrations of the religious and economic and social revolutions which have transformed rude Saxon churls into peace-loving, rate-paying, trafficking, and patriotic Englishmen. To readers interested in such things I hope that this book will serve for entertainment and instruction.

A word as to my authorities. The first two chapters embody the result of researches among the manorial rolls of Westminster Abbey, and in the Record Office and the Bishop of London's Registry. An important document printed in the Appendix, and hitherto unknown, comes from the University Library of Cambridge. The rest of the book is largely based on Hennessy's 'Novum Repertorium Eccles. Paroch. Londinense,' an indispensable work

in such an inquiry, and Newcourt's older 'Repertorium,' together with the parish registers and the various minute-books of the school managers and church trustees. Thus the greatest part of the work is taken from original sources.

I have, of course, consulted the usual depositories of Hampstead history: Park's 'Hampstead,' Baynes's 'Records of Hampstead,' the volumes of the Hampstead Antiquarian Society, and the 'Hampstead Annual,' etc. Park's work, which is the most important of these, is an astonishing production for so young a man, but it is disfigured by the disingenuous appropriation of much learned apparatus with very scant acknowledgment, and it is useful chiefly for the later history. I do not know whether Park got the first idea of his work from Sir J. Sinclair's 'Statistical Account of Scotland,' published at the end of the eighteenth century, but he does not fall behind that valuable model.

Finally, I have to thank the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster for permission to examine the rolls of the Abbey, and the archivist Dr. Scott for his courtesy in the matter; also Mr. Hardy, F.S.A., without whom I should have made little progress in my search. The Rev. Brook Deedes, Messrs. E. Bell, F.S.A., W. Duthoit, D.C.L., E. E. Lake, and many others, have assisted me with information and advice; nor must I omit the verger, Mr. Sweeney, himself something of an antiquarian, who greatly

aided me in examining the registers and the monuments. And so I launch this little book, the work of pleasant summer days, on the sea of the public favour, hoping that it may find unknown friends among the lovers of English history and of Hampstead.

J. KENNEDY.

14, Frognal Lane,
London, N.W.
January 29, 1906.

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THE

MANOR AND PARISH CHURCH OF HAMPSTEAD AND ITS VICARS

INTRODUCTION

When the trustees of the Hampstead Parish Church, moved partly by natural piety, and partly by the suggestion of an Archbishop, proposed to erect a memorial tablet to their former vicars, I undertook the preparation of the necessary list. My investigations soon led me far beyond the limits of biographical research, and with the assistance of Mr. W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., a considerable amount of new matter was discovered, some of which had never been in print, and the rest was little known, and had never been utilized to elucidate Hampstead history. I propose to summarize the result of these inquiries, and to sketch in outline the history of an ancient parish church, and a pleasant rural village which was surrounded by cornlands and meadows and wood and heath, before it was swallowed up in the shoreless sea of suburban London.

The early history of a parish church is generally connected with the early history of the manor, and in the case of Hampstead the connection is closer than usual. Both church and manor belonged to the Benedictines of St. Peter, Westminster, and when the monastery was dissolved in 1539 both passed into the hands of the Bishop of Westminster; and it was only on the abolition of the Bishopric in 1550 that church and manor began to part company. We have therefore two great divisions—(1) the period before 1550, when both the manor of Hampstead and the chapel of the Blessed Mary belonged to the Church, and (2) the subsequent period, when the chapel, or, more correctly, the parish church, was impropriated, and the manor was in lay hands. The two periods are markedly different, not only in their character, but in the quantity and quality of our information. Prior to 1550 we have no continuous history even regarding the manor, while as regards the church our information is both fragmentary and obscure, so that one requires a considerable knowledge of mediæval institutions and ecclesiastical law to interpret it, and we are driven to a hypothetical reconstruction in order to make it intelligible. From 1550 our knowledge is almost, from 1650 altogether, continuous and fairly complete. We no longer deal with what is antiquarian and disputable, but are traversing fields with which we are all familiar.

CHAPTER I

THE MANOR OF HAMPSTEAD, 986-1539

At the time of the Norman Conquest the Church owned most of the land north of the Thames now covered by surburban London. Much of it was comparatively valueless, low-lying marsh, or wood and heath, while a forest stretched along the Edgeware road; but such as it was, it belonged to a few great ecclesiastics. The Archbishops of Canterbury owned Harrow, the Bishop of London Fulham and the immense parish of Stepney, while the prebends of St. Paul's, the abbess of Barking, and the monks of Westminster held manors and lands in Westminster, Kensington, Willesden, Harlesden, Hampstead, and Islington. Hampstead was one of the smallest of the ten manors which the monastery of Westminster possessed in Middlesex.

Ethelred had conferred the lands of Hampstead and Hendon on the monastery in 986.* Hampstead

* Professor Hales, in his paper 'Hampstead in the Tenth Century,' describes Ethelred's Charter, and gives extracts from it (*vide* Baines's 'Records of Hampstead,' Appendix A, pp. 529, 530).

contained, roughly speaking, some 2,000 acres, and Hendon over 8,000 acres. The grant was therefore a handsome one, even for those days, but it did not seem excessive. The Saxon nobility possessed immense landed estates. A noble who held only 10,000 acres in Norfolk was considered a poor match for a lady of quality, and the law deeds speak of anything less than 1,000 acres with pity or contempt, as mere parcels and fractions of land. When Edward the Confessor was about to celebrate the consecration of Westminster Abbey, he confirmed all the grants to the monastery made by Edgar, Dunstan, Ethelred, or himself, and granted the monks exemption from all except royal jurisdiction (December 26, 1065).* He was sick at the time of a mortal illness, which had seized him on Christmas evening, 1065, and he died on January 5, 1066; but the privileges of his granting were confirmed (A D. 1157) by Pope Adrian IV., the only Englishman who ever mounted the Papal throne.

Professor Hales has shown that the boundaries specified in Ethelred's grant of the lands of Hampstead correspond closely with the present boundaries of the parish, but the first detailed account of the place occurs in Domesday.

* For a summary of the Charter, *vide* 'Mon. Ang.,' vol. i., p. 268 (edition of 1819). A copy of the Charter is in the British Museum (Cotton, vi. 2).

It runs thus :*

'*In Osulvestane* (*Ossulston*)† *Hundred.*

'*Manor.*—The Abbot of S. Peter holds Hamestede for four hides. Land to three ploughs. Three hides and a half belong to the demesne, and there is one plough therein. The villanes have one plough and another may be made. There is one villane of one virgate; and five borders of one virgate; and one bondman. Pannage for one hundred hogs. In the whole it is worth fifty shillings; the same when received; in King Edward's time one hundred shillings.

'In the same village, Rannulf Pevrel holds under the Abbot one hide of the land of the villanes. Land to half a plough, and it is there. This land was and is worth five shillings. The manor altogether laid and lies in the demesne of the Church of S. Peter.'

If we are to understand Domesday aright, we must bear certain things in mind. We must remember that it was primarily a revenue record compiled for the purpose of assessing the Danegeld, a land-tax instituted by Ethelred and continued as an occasional tax by the Norman kings until it became

* I have used Bawdwen's translation.

† In later State Papers Hampstead is entered as in the Elethorn Hundred, perhaps from its frequent association with Hendon, which was in Elethorn. The Ossulston Hundred was an immense one, and included Stepney.

annual under Stephen. So far, Domesday must have been more or less a replica of exchequer lists prepared for the Saxon kings. But Domesday went much farther. It was a judicial record compiled by the Royal Commissioners from the statements upon oath of the leading inhabitants of each locality, and it set forth the capabilities of every estate, and the rights of all persons connected with the land. At the time of its compilation, the feudalization of England was nearly complete, and we find the whole feudal hierarchy represented in Domesday from the King's tenant-in-chief to the slave who wears his master's collar. Moreover, it deals with land areas at a time when there was neither map nor survey, nor a common standard of measure; when each locality had its own measure of length, and Saxon and Norman measures were indiscriminately used.* The England of the Conqueror's reign was a country of woods and fens and waste, traversed by tracks fit only for pack animals, and inhabited by a scanty rural population, ignorant and ignoble, who conducted their exchanges by barter, and paid in service or in kind. Far above them in rank and education were the people of the towns, and above these, again, were the abbots and monks and great ecclesiastics,

* In the East every locality still has its own weights and its own measures of length. In modern India every part is, of course, now surveyed; but natives still employ their own measures for local purposes, and I have known thirteen standard measures of area in a single district.

the great nobles, with their retinue of knights and men-at-arms and their impregnable castles, which formed sometimes the refuge and sometimes the terror of the country side. The Abbot of Westminster alone had twenty-six knights ready at his beck and call, their horses standing in his stables.

Turning to Hampstead, we find that it was a feudal manor held from the King by the Abbot of Westminster, and was assessed at four hides. The hide was a Saxon measure which varied greatly in different counties, but in Middlesex it usually ran to 120 acres, so that Hampstead was reckoned at 480 acres. But this had nothing to do with the actual area; indeed, the details subsequently given show that the actual area of arable land was a good deal more. It is merely a rating assessment for purposes of taxation, and in some other cases this is expressly said. Having stated the area on which the Danegeld should be assessed, Domesday passes on to notice the status of the tenants, and the respective areas held by them and by the manorial lord. The manor consisted of arable, pasture, and woodland or waste. These last belonged to the lord of the manor, although the tenant had a right of user, but regarding the areas nothing is said. Domesday confines itself to the arable and pasture-lands. Of these, three and a half hides, or say 420 acres, formed the lord's domain. Turning to the tenants, we find that they belonged to the three classes most numerous

in Domesday—viz., the villani or villeins, the bordarii or boors, and the bondmen or slaves. The first two terms require some explanation. Villeins and boors alike were serfs; they were persons of ignoble condition attached to the soil, who might be reclaimed if they deserted the village. They both worked on the lord's estate in lieu of any other payment for their holdings; they ploughed and sowed and reaped for him, and although he supplied the plough-cattle, they supplied the seed. But the villeins were in much better condition than the boors. In the first place, the villeins formed a community; they represented the original settlers, and their land was common land, cultivated on a plan I shall presently describe. Secondly, the labour which they were required to bestow on the domain lands varied according to the custom of the manor, but it was usually limited to a few days in the year. They had moreover a right of user in the pasture, the woodland, and the waste. The boors were in much worse plight; they were usually late-comers—squatters who had obtained permission to reclaim small patches of the waste. In return for their individual allotments, they had to devote the greater part of their time to the manorial farm, giving perhaps to it three or four days a week, while the villeins might be required to give only two or three weeks in the year. Villeins and boors alike were fed by the lord of the manor while they worked on

his domain, and both being necessary for the cultivation of the soil, were exempted from military service. The single bondsman who lived in Hampstead was landless and a slave, entirely at his lord's disposal.

Mediæval husbandry was carried out in what is known as the three-field system. A field which bore wheat one year was sown next spring with barley or with rye. It then lay fallow for a year at least. The fields were not intermixed; the wheat-fields occupied one side of the village, the barley another, and this necessarily from the mode of cultivation.

We have seen that the villeins cultivated the lord's lands jointly; they cultivated their own lands in common also. Ploughing was done with teams of eight or more oxen, a system which prevailed down to the end of the sixteenth century, and as no villein was rich enough to possess a whole team, the lord supplied the team, or it was made up from the oxen of individual villeins. But although the cultivation was carried out collectively, each villein had his own fields: one strip lay in the wheat-land, another in the barley, a third in the fallow. Balks of turf divided one man's land from his neighbour's; inclosures there were none, and when the crops were cut the village cattle roamed over the whole.

Domesday states merely the extent of the land held in severalty, not the amount of the common

land in the possession of the villeins. Beside the 420 acres of manorial domain, one villein, doubtless richer than his neighbours, held one virgate, or say 30 acres, of his own, besides his share in the common lands ; and five bordarii or boors had another virgate between them, that is to say, allotments of about six acres apiece. An outsider, a Norman called Rannulf Pevrel, had taken over 120 acres of the villeins' land ; on what terms we are not told, but he paid the Abbot of Westminster 5s. in lieu of the villein's service due for the tenure. It is an early case of the commutation of service for money payments. Since the amount of the villein's common land is not stated, we must arrive at it by an indirect computation. A plough was usually calculated to work 60 acres,* and on the three-field system this would represent a holding which could not be less than 180 acres. As Rannulf Pevrel's 120 acres were equivalent to half a plough, I estimate 240 acres as the arable assigned to the plough in Hampstead. The villeins had one plough. If it worked Rannulf Pevrel's land as well as their own, they must have originally owned at least 240 acres. But, Domesday continues, they might make another plough—*i.e.*, they could, if they chose, cultivate another 240 acres, so that the common land of the

* The enumeration of ploughs was a Norman method of calculating areas. In India a rough estimate of cultivation is often based on the number of ploughs in a village.

villeins would represent 480 acres. Adding arable for one plough in the domain lands and other lands held in severalty, I conclude that while the culturable area of the manor was estimated at about 780 acres, the actual yearly cultivation varied from 150 to 170 acres.

Besides their crops of wheat, of barley, and rye, the villagers owned cattle and pigs. These last constituted the greater part of their wealth. The ridge of the hill was crowned with an oak wood, and the villagers' hogs grazing in it were limited to 100. The village was self-sufficing; it had its own mill, maintained by the monastery, and it required nothing from the outside world except perhaps a little salt. There were six or seven families of villeins* and five families of boors—about sixty souls in all—long-haired, bare-headed Saxon churls, clad in sheepskin smocks, girt at the waist with a leather belt, and living in wooden buildings or wattel huts. This is the picture of Hampstead in the days of the Conqueror as presented by Domesday.

Domesday continues: 'On the whole the manor is worth fifty shillings, the same when received; in King Edward's time a hundred shillings.'

These words constitute one of the puzzles of Domesday which I do not pretend to explain; but I may

* The ordinary calculation is of something over three adult males to a plough, and there were two ploughs in the village.

remark that, first, the 50s. must represent not the capital value, but the annual income of the manor. The Danegeld was sometimes as much as 6s. per hide. The monks could afford to pay 24s., or half the annual income, but they could not afford to pay repeatedly half the capital value of the place. *Second*, the income of the manor was realized chiefly in service and in kind, not in cash. The 50s. represent an estimate and not an actual. *Third*, all the manors in the county of Middlesex, with some insignificant exceptions, show a great decrease on King Edward's valuation, and the decrease is usually greater on the lands of the lay nobles than of the Church. In those days the wealth of a manor depended chiefly on the number of its tenants, and if the reduction throughout the county was due to depopulation, it follows that the tenants enjoyed greater security under the Church than under the Norman nobles.

Between 1086 A.D., the date of Domesday, and 1272, A.D. when the Westminster accounts begin, we know practically nothing of Hampstead. A single document, dated between 1214 and 1222, contains an assignment of 40s. a year in rents by the Abbot to the Kitchener of Westminster. But from 1272 onwards we have forty or fifty documents, chiefly manorial accounts, rent-rolls, and a few miscellaneous leases and similar documents, mere flotsam and jetsam of what once existed, but

sufficient to give us the economic history of the manor in outline.

More important than any of these is a standard rent-roll prepared for the monastery of St. Peter in 1312, and preserved in the University library at Cambridge.* The procedure is that of Domesday, except that, as the return was prepared for the use of the Abbey monks, instead of the King's Commissioners, we have John de Bucleye, a monk of Westminster, and John de Neuport, the curate in charge of the parish, as Presidents of the Assize. John de Neuport is the earliest parish priest whose name has been preserved to us; and this is the first intimation we get of the existence of a church. Before these commissioners the tenants assembled in the manorial court, furnish complete details of the estate, and depose upon their oath to their correctness, while the bailiff, who probably supplied many of the figures, lurks unremembered in the background. But although the procedure follows that of Domesday, the return improves upon Domesday in two respects. In the first place it is much more elaborate, giving details of every part of the estate and every individual in the village; next the areas are given in standard acres. The hide had by this time entirely disappeared, but ox-lands and plough-lands were still used as measures of length in many parts of the country.

* It is printed with a translation in Appendix VIII.

The acre, however, which may have had its origin in the length of the mediæval furrow, was at this time supplanting other measures, and is fortunately employed in the present instance.*

The records which I have described cover more or less completely the whole period from 1272 to 1412. After that year our notices are few in number, and relate only to particular leases, the surrender of a holding, or similar matters. The latest is dated 1470. Their interest consists in the picture they give us of the management of the estate, and the social and economic conditions of the villagers before and after the Black Death of 1348, which destroyed, it is said, one-half of the population, and revolutionized the condition of the lower

* This rent-roll is our earliest authority for the topography of Hampstead, but I must leave the identifications to another hand. The names of the jurors and tenants are also of interest, for surnames were coming into use at the time. Some of these Hampstead tenants take their surnames from a particular locality; thus, Robert de Kyngeswell takes his name from the chief street of the Hampstead village. On the other hand, the Childe family, who cultivated on the borders of Hendon, have given their name in perpetuity to Child's Hill. Whether Turgys is derived from Turgysegio, or *vice versâ*, I cannot say. Many of the families appear in the bailiffs' accounts for over a century; such are the Atteponds, Woodwards, Aldenhams, and Browns. The surnames usually denote the occupation or the local origin of the holder. I may add that rent-rolls of this period are somewhat rare, and the Hampstead 'Extenta' of 1312 surpasses in several respects any of the three printed by Professor Thorold Rogers in his 'History of Agriculture, etc., in England,' vol. ii.

classes. It is the dividing line in the economic history of England.

Down to 1349 bailiff farming was the rule in Hampstead, as on most monastic estates. The villenage system continued with certain modifications, and the monks kept the manor under direct management, and worked the domain lands as a home farm with the labour of the villeins. Hampstead seems to have been a granary of Westminster, and more intimately connected with it than most of the convents' manors. The Lord Prior of Westminster was the official in charge, while the bailiff or reeve who managed the estate is called the *serviens*, and sometimes the *præpositus*.*

Every year, at Michaelmas, he submits to the Lord Prior an account of the annual income and expenditure. His Latin is often barbarous. In a Hendon account there is a charge for certain repairs done 'ultra le trap-dore pro ostio capellae'; but the marvel is that he could render his accounts in Latin at all. Under the *serviens* was the farm establishment, the daye or superintendent of the dairy, who was usually a woman, a carter, cowherd, shepherd, ploughman, and two assistants. All these lived at free quarters in the Grange, and besides

* Cunningham ('Growth of English Industry,' p. 97) says that the *præpositus* was a sort of foreman, selected annually by the tenants; but this does not seem to be the case with the *præpositus* of the Westminster rolls.

their food they received a certain annual sum in cash. The *serviens* got 13s. 4d. and the daye 10s. in 1346, while in 1272 the annual pay of the carter was 3s., and of the shepherd 12d. The windmill of the manor, to which the tenants must take their grain perforce, stood at some distance from the Hall, probably on the eminence afterwards known as Windmill Hill;* and the miller, the forester, and the herd resided in the village, and not in the Grange, but the herd probably herded the cattle of the villagers and not of the hall. An orchard, a kitchen garden, and a lawn were attached to the Hall Grange, and in the hollow close by there ran the little Frognal brook which supplied the cattle pond. The monks also maintained a hawking establishment at the Hall, and permits to hunt in the 'Bishop's Way' occasionally figure in the bailiff's accounts.

The Hall Grange, where the monks of Westminster came and went, and the parish priest usually resided, stood in the midst of the domain lands, which were the richest and most fertile in the manor. These domain lands consisted of:

First, 203 acres, 3 roods arable land, valued nominally at 4d. per acre, which was regarded as a maximum rate throughout the fourteenth century.†

* It was still working at the end of the seventeenth century.

† The peasants under Tyler and Ball, in 1381, demanded of King Richard II. 'the reduction of the rent of land to fourpence the acre' among their other requests (Lingard, 'History of England,' vol. iii., p. 291, edition 1902).

Only a few crofts round the village bear a higher rental.

Second, 28 acres and ½ rood of natural meadow enclosed for nine months of the year.

Third, 59 acres, 1 rood pasture land.

The meadow land is valued at 4s., and the pasture at 2d.-5d. per acre. The great difficulty of maintaining cattle during the winter under the conditions which then prevailed, as well as the neighbourhood of London, made hay a most valuable crop ; even in the time of the Conqueror Domesday always makes especial mention of the meadows.

The monastery also possessed six stretches of woodland, three of which were probably enclosed. The loppings were used for field work and for firewood. This made a valuable source of income, and the yearly return is put down at £6 10s., the highest item from any single source in the whole valuation. The brushwood on the heath only yielded 2s. Three of the woods were open for the village cattle to graze in all the year, and the villagers had the right of grazing their cattle in the domain meadows and pastures from Michaelmas to February. Formerly there had also been pannage in the oak woods for 100 hogs ; now there was none, perhaps because the oak woods were enclosed. Pigs were still reared by the villagers, who paid to the bailiff at Martinmas 1d. for every year-old, and ½d. for every porker ; but

there cannot have been more than fifty or sixty animals as the annual income was only 3s. There is no clue to the number of sheep or cattle on the estate, whether the property of the monastery or of the villeins; we only know that they were there.

So far as the management of the estate and of the domain land was concerned, there had been no change since Domesday, but only development. But when we turn to the tenants, we find that considerable modifications have taken place. The most important fact is the disappearance of the old system of common tillage: instead of a joint cultivation, each one now holds his own portion of land and works it, if necessary, with the help of day labourers, a class which at Domesday was practically non-existent. With this change the manor rolls also show a change in the nomenclature of the tenants which corresponds to a partial change of status. We found two classes of tenants at Domesday, the villeins and the bordars; these are now confounded together under the name of 'customary tenants,' who differ among themselves according to the services due to the Lord of the Manor, those with the lightest obligations representing the former villeins, and the heaviest burdened the bordars; but both were alike serfs, subject to all the legal incidents of serfdom.

Besides the customary tenants, we have free

tenants also. We found at Domesday a certain Rannulf Pevrel, who held part of the villeins' lands, but paid a fixed sum in lieu of villeins' service. Rannulf Pevrel was a free tenant in reality, although not in name, and the forerunner of the free tenants who now appear in the manorial rolls. From these free tenants and customary tenants came the freeholders and copyholders of Henry VI.'s time, who have lasted to the present day.

In 1312 there were five free tenants in the Hampstead manor. Four of these were great folk. Roger le Brabazon was Lord Chief Justice to Edward II., and was possessor of the subordinate manor of Belsize, which he bequeathed on his deathbed in 1316 to the monastery of St. Peter.* Three religious houses were also free tenants of the manor. The Prioress of Kilburn had a meadow called Le Rudyng; the Knights of St. John had the lands called the 'Hampstead Temple'; and the Master of St. James' Hospital, Westminster, had 24 acres of plough land and wood. Besides these, there was a certain Robert de Kyngeswell, foreman of the manorial jury, who, although a free tenant, betrays his origin by having to supply two geese and a fowl annually, and by his obligation to attend the lord's court. He is a villein who has worked his way up to

* In the 'Calendarium Rotulorum' for 1316 A.D., there is an inquisition into the estate of Roger le Brabazon: 'Rog' le Brabazon pro Abbe Westm'—Hampstead—ibm Middlesex.'

his present rank. Domesday records a somewhat analogous case.

The land of the free tenants was taken partly from the villeins' lands, and partly from the waste. The rents represented the full, or nearly the full, value of the land, but they were practically fixed: thus we find the land held by the religious houses which I have mentioned, paying the same rent throughout the whole period covered by these records. The total area held by the free tenants is not given, but their rents amounted to £5 13s. 10d. per annum.

Roger le Brabazon lived in his great house in Belsize, and Robert de Kyngeswell in the village. The other free tenants were non-resident. The customary tenants, on the other hand, with scarcely an exception, lived in the village, as was generally the case everywhere; and in the records of the time they are usually called *nativi*. Of these customary tenants there were forty-five households in Hampstead; their holdings amounted to 289 acres, 3 roods, and their cash rents to £4 3s. The holdings were small. One tenant had 24 acres, fourteen from 11 to 18 acres, five from 6 to 10 acres, while fifteen had 5 acres and under. There were also ten families of day labourers, who possessed neither land nor poultry, and paid a rent of 1d. and upwards per annum for their huts. A penny a day without food was the lowest rate of wages at this time, and during the harvest it was doubled; but as a matter of fact,

day labourers were usually paid not in money, but in grain.

Besides cash the customary tenants had to pay for their holdings by work on the domain lands, and to supply the lord's table. On the Feast of St. Peter *ad vincula* (August 1) they furnished eight geese, at Christmas they gave forty-five fowls, at Easter eggs; but the most serious part of their obligations consisted in the tillage of the domain lands, and the amount of their services was exactly prescribed. If anyone had a plough or a plough ox, he had to assist in the winter and spring ploughings; but ploughing, threshing, and winnowing were chiefly carried on by the farm establishment at the Grange. The rest of the field work was done by the tenants. They had to cart the manure, harrow the fields, and hoe the young corn; and it was their business to mow the hay and turn it over, and to harvest the crops, after which they carried both the hay and the corn to be garnered in the Grange. Some tenants had to work for double the number of days that others did. Two families held five acres each free of rent on condition that they gave one day's labour to the manor in every week, except at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. Another family gave sixteen days in autumn, the busiest season. On the whole, the tenants were well off. The majority had to do only seventeen days' work a year on the domain lands, and when they were at work they

received a free meal of bread, cheese, and perhaps cider. In return they had complete security of tenure, the holdings descended from father to son, and the rent was seldom, if ever, raised—never during the lifetime of the holder. And the bailiff of the estate was frequently selected from the most considerable villagers.

Besides these main sources of income, we find all manner of miscellaneous items. Everything that could yield an income in money or in kind was turned to account, but there was no rack-renting, and custom prescribed a limit to everything. The whole management of the estate reminds us forcibly of the system prevailing in many parts of Northern India at the present day.

According to the return of 1312, the cash receipts of the Manor averaged £21 17s. 6d., while the home farm must have been worth at least as much more, so that we may reckon the total income to have been about £45 per annum. Despite some inclement seasons and an actual famine in 1316, this state of things continued until 1349. The village was as prosperous and the population as great as in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

The Black Death is said to have arisen in China in 1333. It appeared in Cyprus in 1347, and great earthquakes and volcanic eruptions in the Mediterranean ushered its entrance into Europe. It ravaged England from August, 1348, to the

spring of 1349, and produced an immediate and lasting revolution, destroying half the population of the country. Sixty thousand corpses are said to have been buried in Spitalfields, and the dead of London exceeded the living. Abbot Simon de Barcheston fled from Westminster to Hampstead, but the plague followed him, and he died there.* It also carried off twenty-six of his monks. The depopulation of the country rendered the old husbandry impossible, wages rose permanently 60 per cent., and enterprising men, who tempted labourers by high pay, leased the deserted lands. Freedom of contract took the place of serf labour, and a profound social and economic revolution was effected, the greatest known in England before the rise of modern industries. The convents were among the first to feel the change. They had depended on their domain lands, and the villeins were no longer there to cultivate them. From 1350 the convent of Westminster always gives the Hampstead lands in farm. The leases are at first for short periods of five years, but presently for ten or twenty years. The earliest lease does not include the manorial dues or certain lands of the Lord Prior, but it includes everything else—the arable, the meadow, the pasture with the cattle—and it is given on something like the *metayer* system, and at a rack

* In 1349. He is buried in the east walk of the cloister at Westminster.

rent. The later leases are much more limited, but they show how completely the old system was abandoned. The manor and manorial duties are leased usually for about £14, while the rest of the land is let on a system of cash rents. It is at this point that the later rent-rolls begin. In a tattered roll of 1372 A.D., we have about sixty holdings; two or three are sometimes held by the same person, and several of the holders are ecclesiastics. The Prior of Westminster holds certain lands rent free, but he pays 29s. 2d. for the lands and tenements of Roger le Brabazon, and other lands and tenements he holds which were formerly held by William le Woodward. The Master of the Hospital of St. James, Westminster, has reduced his holding, and now only pays 10s. for a farm, the Prioress of Kilburn 3s. 4d. for the meadow called Le Rudyng. The Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem still holds the lands called the 'Hampstead Temple,' which the Hospitallers continued to hold until the dissolution of their house.

Only one of these rent-rolls belongs to the fifteenth century, and the last of the leases ends in 1423. After this the history of the manor again becomes nearly a blank until 1539. When the religious houses were dissolved, Hampstead had long been in the occupation of the Hospitallers, who leased it from the convent of Westminster. Probably the Hospitallers got the farm of the entire

manor early in the fifteenth century. From 1350 Hampstead had ceased to be the home farm of the monastery at Westminster.

The most interesting document of this obscure period is the sale of an oak wood, dated in the 'forty-ninth year of Henry VI.'s reign and the first of his restoration' (1470 A.D.). The Abbot, Prior, and Convent of Westminster sell to Thomas Burgess and J. H. Kemp, for £28 13s. 4d., a certain wood growing in the north field, 'and lying within the Parish and Lordship of Hampstead, and parcel of the said Lordship.' The boundaries are given: the hall field on the south, the lands of the Prior of St. John on the west, the 'common wood,' called Northwood, on the north, and Frognal field on the east. The lessees were allowed three years in which to cut down the timber, but they had to leave fifty oaks standing. Oak Hill Park recalls the memory of this wood, which disappeared 435 years ago.

We have seen what Hampstead was in 1312, we can also obtain a pretty clear picture of Hampstead in the fifteenth century. To the traveller traversing the meadows of Kilburn the tower of the church on the hill would be, as it still is, the most prominent object in the landscape. A wood, partly enclosed, crowned the top of the hill, and ran in a northerly direction. The cultivated land lay on the sunny western slopes. The hall grange was

separated from the wood by the hall field, and stood where it stood in Henry VIII.'s time, near the top of Frognal Lane. The church was close to it, and north of the church was Frognal Field. The village lay to the east, and consisted of a single street, called Kingswell Street. The Hendon Road, the only highway of the manor, but scarcely practicable except for pack animals, ran through it. The houses were partly of timber; some had crofts. All the rest of the manor was open land, much of it covered with heath and furze; on the south-east the land declined to reeds and bog. Some of the tenants and farm hands lived in Kilburn or St. Pancras; but there were various well-to-do resident families—for instance, the family of the Kemps, one of whom cut down the oak wood in 1470, and with whom we meet again in 1539.

The country was still undrained; the place abounded in springs and ponds. The Fleet river, which rose in Hampstead, was so considerable that boats came up it from the Thames to the wharf at King's Cross, and fogs frequently blotted out the landscape.

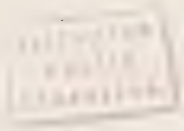
A village of some forty houses on the crest of a hill amid crofts, with woods and corn-lands on one side and common on the other, and traversed by a broad, sandy track, along which pack animals passed and repassed daily—such was Hampstead when the

retainers of York and Lancaster fought at Barnet and St. Albans.

NOTE

Mr. Maryon and others have made much of the manor of Belsize, and regarded its creation as a capital event in the early history of Hampstead. I have purposely omitted it, because this subordinate manor had neither church nor hamlet of its own, and its history does not materially differ from that of other private properties. It contributed nothing to the history of the place. But it has a twofold interest, for it is the only instance of a manor carved out of the Hampstead manor by sub-infeudation; and, next, it is the only portion of Ethelred's grant, over which the monastery of St. Peter's has always been Lord Paramount. This little manor, which is said to cover about 232 acres, consisted of a messuage and 57 acres when we first meet with it in 1316. It was an *enclave* of Hampstead, carved out of, and surrounded by, the lands of the original manor. Rannulf Pevrel's holding was possibly the nucleus. The manor was created at some unknown date between 1086 and 1316 A.D., the work, in all probability, of the wicked Abbot Gervase (1140-1160 A.D.), the natural son of King Stephen, or, rather, of perdition, who split Hendon into five manors, and laid his sacreligious hands on the lands and jewels of the Abbey until the Pope intervened. The manor of Belsize was formed by sub-infeudation; the lord held of the abbot and convent, and not directly from the King, and he paid the convent 10s. 6d. yearly for it. In 1316 A.D. Roger le Brabazon, Chief Justice of Edward II., whom we have already met with, resigned the manor on his death bed to the monastery of St. Peter, on condition that the monks said a daily mass for himself, and for the Earl of Lancaster and his wife Blanche. Somewhat later, in 1360, the convent formally made over Belsize to their prior. I have not unravelled its history at the dissolution of the monastery, but, as we find the Dean and Chapter in possession under Elizabeth, it must have remained in the hands of the Bishop of Westminster and of the Crown during this interval. The manor was, perhaps, too small to excite the cupidity of a courtier. It was always let

on long leases of twenty-one years and upwards throughout the seventeenth century. In 1683 it was let to the second Earl of Chesterfield, and became practically the property of the Stanhope family, subject to some rather shadowy rights of the Dean and Chapter. A large Elizabethan house stood near the present site of St. Peter's, Belsize, and was surrounded by a park nearly a mile in extent. Both Pepys and Evelyn describe the place. From 1720 to 1745 it was sublet to a Welshman, who opened up the house and grounds as a place of public amusement. (An account of the doings here will be found in Wroth's 'London Pleasure Gardens,' p. 189 *ff.*) In 1807 the seventh Earl of Chesterfield obtained permission to break the entail and sell his rights in the place, and after 1853 the builders got possession of the estate and covered it with houses. It was then created a separate parish, having up to this time always remained a part of the parish of Hampstead. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster gave the land for the new parish church of St. Peter's, Belsize (consecrated 1859), and added an endowment of £200 per annum. They finally parted with the manor to the Charity Commissioners about 1887, this being among the earliest lands acquired by the Abbey, and the last to be relinquished. Such is the history of this little subdivision, which was little more than a mansion house and park until the nineteenth century.



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CAPELLA BEATÆ MARIÆ DE HAMSTEDE.

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CHAPTER II

THE PARISH CHURCH, 1300-1539 A.D.

THE monks of Westminster possessed the manor of Hampstead for five and a half centuries (986-1539 A.D.). Although we have no continuous history of the place throughout these centuries, we know what it was at Domesday (1086 A.D.). We have official accounts of it at the end in 1539 A.D., and we have detailed knowledge of it for about 150 years (1270-1420 A.D.) between these two dates. We are thus able to reconstruct the history of the manor with certainty in outline, if not always with a desirable fulness of detail. The case of the Hampstead Church throughout these 550 years is altogether different. We have only the casual mention of three incumbents, the one a rector, the other two curates, and about none of them do we know anything. Thus the questions which we have to deal with in this chapter are not personal, but antiquarian and ecclesiastical. The first point is to determine the date of the church and the time when Hampstead became a parish and

the church a Parish Church. An opinion has hitherto prevailed that the Hampstead church originated as a chapelry of Hendon, and became a Parish Church about 1598.* If this were the case we should have a difficult problem to face, for the creation of a new parish could only have been the work of the Bishop of London. He alone was competent to do it. Now the Bishop's records for the end of the sixteenth century are preserved, and it is scarcely credible that such an important transaction as the creation of a new parish should have left no written memorial behind. But we are spared this difficulty, for the prevailing opinion happens to be demonstrably wrong. It can be shown that the church existed before 1312 A.D.; how much earlier we cannot say. We also know that the church was at that time a Parish Church, and that Hamptead is an 'ancient' parish, as the Legislature and the law-courts always style it. But if we escape Scylla we fall into Charybdis, for

* A few lines in Newcourt's 'Repertorium,' published in 1708 A.D., regarding the connection of Hampstead and Hendon between 1461 and 1477 A.D., contain all that is to be found in the Bishop of London's Registry regarding the early history of the Hampstead church. Newcourt was the Bishop's registrar, and an accurate man who did not go beyond his authorities. The current history is the work of Park, who improved on Newcourt's statements by conjectures of his own, and boldly transferred, without acknowledgment, Newcourt's list of the vicars of Hendon from 1477 to 1539 to Hampstead, although they had nothing to do with it.

it is certain that Hampstead was a chapelry of Hendon from 1461 to 1477 A.D. That a Parish Church should be treated as the chapelry of another parish is anomalous in the extreme, perhaps unique; and we have to determine in what sense Hampstead can ever have been a chapelry. And another difficulty is equally great. The church of Hampstead uniformly escaped taxation either by the King or by the Pope as long as it remained in the hands of the monks. They neither showed it in their returns to the Crown, nor did they ever obtain institution of the incumbents at the hands of the Bishop of London. How shall we explain this conspiracy of silence? But before we tackle these questions let me say something of the church itself and of its dedication.

The Capella Beatæ Mariæ, the chapel of the Blessed Mary, was a stone and timber building with a wooden tower standing at its west end beside the main door; on the south there was another entrance. The building stood on a little eminence close to the hall grange, from which it was separated by the little Frognal brook, and by a cattle pond. It was at a greater distance from the village, and did not face that way. These buildings of timber and stone are often very old; some go back to before the Conquest; but the chapel of the Blessed Mary was so often repaired that we cannot judge of its age by its picture.

Nor can we say to whom it was dedicated. If it went back to early Norman times, like its sister church of Hendon, it would doubtless be consecrated, as the Hendon church was, to the Blessed Virgin; but if it dates from the thirteenth century (it cannot be later), then St. Mary Magdalene would be the patron saint. A gentleman who has made a special study of the subject says:

'If the chapel was founded in late twelfth or early thirteenth century, it would pretty surely be dedicated to Mariæ Magdalenæ, because St. Mary Magdalene was greatly venerated by the Plantaganet kings. She was the patron saint of Marseilles, and a council held in England, *circa* 1200 A.D., directed great veneration for her. Practically all the churches dedicated in those times were dedicated to her. If the chapel was founded before Plantagenet times, then it is pretty sure to be St. Mary the Virgin.'

But unfortunately we cannot tell when the Hampstead chapel was founded. A Hendon document (apparently of the fifteenth century) calls it the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, and this is probably the correct designation. In the rent-roll of 1312 the Blessed Mary always stands for the Blessed Virgin. We may therefore conjecture that the chapel is older than the thirteenth century.

The earliest indirect mention of the chapel occurs in the manorial rent-roll of 1312; the next, which

is direct, in the Patent Rolls of 1333 A.D.* In that year Edward III. made 'a grant to Stephen de Duddeleye, the King's clerk, of the Chapel within the Manor of Hampstead.'† He did so not by virtue of the royal prerogative, but 'by reason of his custody of the heir and lands of Gilbert de Barentyn, tenant-in-chief of the late King'; in other words, Edward acted as the Court of Wards. Gilbert de Barentyn was a great man in Middlesex, and died between 1323 and 1327 A.D.‡ How he came to be possessed of the advowson of a church in a manor belonging to the monks of Westminster, nothing remains to tell us. But he did not build the church of Hampstead; it was in existence, possibly long in existence before 1312.

We have no more references to the chapel in the fourteenth century; but in the fifteenth it is

* *Vide* Appendix I.

† The county is not specified, and there was a manor of Hampstead with a church in Norfolk, and another in Staffordshire; but (1) there was only one Hampstead, the church of which was always termed a chapel; and (2) Gilbert de Barentyn was a great man in Middlesex, and had nothing to do with Norfolk or Staffordshire. Both Hennessy and Rye agree that Hampstead in Middlesex is meant. There are many other Hampsteads, distinguished by some special designation—Hemel Hampstead, Hampstead Marshall, Hampstead Cifrewast, Hampstead de Ferers, Pyrye et Hamstede, etc.—but they are out of the question. For the Hampsteads attached to the Sees of Winchester and Chichester, see Appendix IX.

‡ Some particulars, discovered by Mr. Hardy, regarding Gilbert de Barentyn and his family will be found in Appendix II.

mentioned seven times. The first of these references supplies us casually with a name. We learn that John Bastard was curate of the church in 1413 A.D.; whether he was a monk or a secular priest, a 'perpetual' or a 'stipendiary' curate, we cannot say.* He was doubtless a clericus, or curate in charge, like his predecessor, John de Neuport.

The next reference to the chapel occurs in a list of Parish Churches, dated 1428 A.D. But before we go on to show that it was a Parish Church, and to consider in what sense it was afterwards a chapelry of Hendon, some preliminary explanations may be useful.

Parishes represent a very old territorial division of England, and although the Parish Church is usually said to be the church of a manor, the parish itself is much older than the manor with which it frequently does not correspond.

The most generally accepted theory is that the parish represents the Saxon 'township' (tun-scipe), the area of arable, wood, meadow, common, and waste attaching to a self-contained village community. As the country became Christianized, each community would gradually come to have its

* Mr. Hennessy mentions him, but was unable to give me the reference. The Bishop of London's institutions for this period are missing, and Mr. Hennessy must have got the name from some chance reference, perhaps in a will or other legal document.

own priest settled there by the Bishop, and its church, built by the zeal of the inhabitants, the energy of a missioner, or the piety of a landowner. But of this process no record remains. When we first meet with parishes in mediæval times they are purely ecclesiastical divisions, each with its church and priest, its churchwardens and its vestry. The vestry was the democratic meeting of all the parishioners, for in the church all were equal, while the Manorial Court represented the aristocratic side of village life. The churchwardens were the people's officers, and it was their business to look after the temporalities of the church, not only the building but the flocks and herds which pious persons often bequeathed to it (a little later we find a case of this kind at Hampstead); and the 'Church Ale,' at which the churchwardens' accounts were audited, was a yearly festival, an occasion of good cheer, to which the neighbouring villagers flocked as to a merry-making.*

Thus the constitution of a parish required a church and priest, churchwardens, a burial-ground, and the celebration of the Sacraments. But as cultivation extended and population multiplied,

* In remote parts of the country annual festivals of the kind are still observed, although they have nothing to do with the audit of the accounts. The Benedictine monks of Fort Augustus, at the head of Loch Ness, invite all the neighbouring parishes yearly to a summer feast and dance on the convent sward. The monastery chapel is the Parish Church of the neighbourhood.

distance and the inclemency of the weather might prevent the attendance of the parishioners at church, and for the convenience of these distant parishioners chapelries were started. These chapelries are usually called *annexæ*, or *ecclesiæ annexæ*, the French *annexe*.* They had neither any territorial area attached to them, nor churchwardens and parishioners of their own, nor were they in any way independent. The offerings of the faithful belonged to the Mother Church, and the outlying parishioners of the chapelry were bound to present themselves at the Parish Church in state on certain annual festivals. The conflicting interests of the mother and daughter churches led to frequent disputes; the Bishop must intervene to regulate their respective interests, and in the last resort he sometimes created a new parish for the chapelry—an act within his competence alone.

And now to return to Hampstead. In the next chapter we shall see that at the same time when the monastery of Westminster was dissolved, Hampstead was a Parish Church. It had its own income, its own burial-ground, its churchwardens, and the Bishop of Westminster became its parson. Going further back, we find that in 1470 A.D. the monks of Westminster declare the oakwood they leased to Burgess and Kemp, to be 'in the parish of Hampstead.' Still earlier in 1428 A.D. the Church

* *Vide* Du Cange, *s.v.*

of Hampstead is mentioned in a list of Parish Churches which had escaped taxation.* It was therefore a Parish Church throughout the fifteenth century. It was also clearly a Parish Church in 1333 A.D., when Stephen de Duddeleye got a grant of it, although this is not positively stated. The royal chaplains were notorious absentees; they looked to the bishoprics and rich preferments, and although Stephen de Duddeleye could make something out of the Hampstead living as an absentee rector, he certainly would not have accepted the humble position of a rural curate. Verily Hampstead was a parish, and its church a Parish Church from the beginning; and could we go further back, we should doubtless find that the boundaries of Ethelred's grant correspond with an ancient territorial demarcation.

Hampstead, then, being clearly a Parish Church throughout the fifteenth century and at a much earlier date, how came it to be, even temporarily, a chapelry of Hendon? Newcourt says: 'It was of old a Chapel annex'd to the Church of Hendon, the Rectors whereof were for sometime instituted to it *cum capella de Hamsted eidem annexa;* and after this manner it continued from the year 1461 till about the year 1478. From thenceforth (*i.e.*, from 1478) this Chapel of Hamsted was no longer recorded as a Chappel annex't to the Church of

* *Vide* Appendix III., 'Return of Feudal Aids.'

Hendon, but became (what it still is) a donative or curacy in the gift of the Abbot and Convent of Westminster.' Speaking of Hendon, he says: 'From the year 1461 I find the Rectors, whom the Abbot and Convent of Westminster presented, were admitted to it (*i.e.*, the Rectory of Hendon) *cum capella de Hamsted eidem annexa*, and so continued all along till 1478.' The institutions to which he refers are those of John Barton, 1461; William Duddeleye, 1466; and William Bampton, 1477. In 1478 the Convent of Westminster appropriated the Rectory of Hendon, and we have no more presentations to it '*cum* Hamstead.'*

Now, the churches of Hampstead and Hendon had been entirely separate down to 1461. This is certain, because Walter de London was Rector of Hendon when Edward III. bestowed Hampstead upon Stephen de Duddeleye.† It is also certain that the two parishes of Hampstead and Hendon were not merged, for the monks of St. Peter call Hampstead a parish in 1470, at the very time that

* The registers of presentations preserved at Westminster agree with the Bishop's registry so far as they go; but the earliest notice of Hendon in them is the presentation of the vicarage to Gilbert Andrewson in 1487.

† Edward III. gave the Rectory of Hendon to Walter (not Thomas, as Newcourt has it) de London by Letters Patent in 1330, but for a year only. He held it, however, according to Hennessy, till 1349. The two civil parishes of Hampstead and Hendon have, of course, always been quite separately managed, and their history has nothing in common.

they had handed over the Hampstead church to the Hendon rector. Hampstead can never have been a chapelry of Hendon in the technical sense I have above explained ; its income never went to Hendon, nor were the parishioners ever bound to attend the Hendon Church. It was an irregular transfer of the cure of the parish to the Rector of Hendon, carried out by the monks on their own authority and in defiance of all law.

The motive was undoubtedly financial. Since 1402 the monks ought, properly speaking, to have maintained a secular priest in charge of the cure. But since the Black Death the pay of a curate had risen to £10, and we shall find hereafter that this was all the living was worth. The monks were much pressed for money in the middle of the fifteenth century. They had about this time leased the manor of Hampstead to the Knights of St. John, and the maintenance of a monk merely to look after the cure was probably felt to be a burden, while the relinquishment of the £10 was not to be thought of. They preferred to pocket the proceeds, and obliged the new rectors of Hendon to maintain at their own cost a 'separate cappelane to serve the Chappel of the Blessed Virgin at Hamstede.'* This appears to be the explanation of the whole transaction.

The connection between the two churches begun

* I take the quotation from Evans's 'History of Hendon,' but Evans does not give his authority.

in 1461 ended in 1477, and the story belongs rather to Hendon than to Hampstead. The monks of St. Peter were in sad straits for money, and they cast about them for means to augment their income. The appropriation of the livings in their gift was the most obvious and the most common remedy, and Hendon was one of the richest of their livings. The Hendon rectory had long been a sinecure. An Abbot of the convent occasionally appropriated it to himself, and the actual work was carried on by deputy. We have seen that the monks burdened the Hendon rectory with the maintenance of the Hampstead cure. In 1477 they determined to appropriate the Hendon rectory to themselves. To do this the consent of the King, the Pope, and the Bishop of London was requisite. Edward IV. consented unconditionally.* Sixtus IV. gave a general consent, saving the power of the Bishop as to details.† What the Bishop did we know only by the results. The monks had desired to appropriate both the temporalities and the spiritualities of the Hendon church—in legal phrase, to appropriate it *pleno jure*.‡ They were to employ monks or

* *Vide* Appendix IV.

† Park has reprinted the Bull in his appendix.

‡ For the exact meaning of this legal phrase, *vide* Phillimore's 'Ecclesiastical Law,' vol. i. (first edition), p. 274: 'Pleno jure, sive utroque jure, tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus'—'The religious house had the cure of souls and all rights, and performed the duties of the Church by its own members or by stipendiary curates.'

secular curates at their pleasure, to appoint them without institution by the Bishop, and to remove them at will. This would have been legal down to the end of the fourteenth century, but the abuse had grown so great that the legislature had intervened. An Act of Henry IV. required the Bishops to see that in every appropriation a suitable provision was made for the vicar, who was to be a secular priest instituted by the Bishop, and irremovable. The convent's proposal was therefore more than half a century too late ; and the Bishop of London, while confirming the appropriation of the Hendon rectory, which had long been a sinecure, and to which Edward IV. and Sixtus IV. had given their consent, disallowed the rest of the monastery's claim. The monks were obliged to endow the Hendon vicarage, and to appoint vicars who were secular priests and irremovable. Thus the matter terminated in 1478. But this also brought the connection of Hampstead with Hendon to a close. It was the Hendon rector, and not the Hendon vicar, who had been charged with the maintenance of the Hampstead cure, and as the monks themselves were now the rectors of Hendon, Hampstead reverted to its original position.

We have solved three of the questions which met us at the outset. One still remains, and it is perhaps the most suggestive of all as to the history of the church. In tracing the history of any church

dependent upon Westminster, we naturally turn to two sources of information. The first is the Bishop of London's institutions, the records of which have been preserved since 1306. The various records of ecclesiastical taxation form the other. The most important of these are the so-called *taxatio ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicolas, compiled in 1291, and the *Valor ecclesiasticus*, drawn up shortly before the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539.

Now the Bishop of London's registry does not contain a single institution to the Hampstead parish church throughout this period. The obvious explanation is that the church was served by monks or stipendary curates who required no institution. If so the church must have been appropriated by the monastery at a very early date—sometime before 1400 A.D., when such irregular appropriations were still possible. The monks took the whole profits of the benefice, and themselves provided for the service of the cure.

The revenue returns lead us a step farther. The only occasion on which the Hampstead church receives mention is in a return of feudal aids for Middlesex dated 1428 and it is there said to have escaped taxation. The manor of Hampstead figures in the earliest and the latest of these returns among the temporalities of Westminster, and we know through the *Valor ecclesiasticus* the income which the hospitallers got from their lease of it, but the

income of the church is never mentioned. The income of all other churches and chapels dependent upon Westminster appears in these returns. Hampstead alone is absent. And this is the more strange, because in the ten years following on the dissolution of the monastery, its income is officially given three times over.

The most probable clue will, I think, be found by studying the taxation of Pope Nicholas. We find there, separately given, the income not only of the monastery, but also of the great officials, the Abbot and the Obedientiaries, or monastic heads, of the several departments. We have the income of the Precentor, the Sacrist, the Cellarer, the Kitchener, the Infirmiar, who looked after the sick ward, the Hostillar, whose duty it was to entertain guests in the monastic hostel, and the custodian of the Lady Chapel. One great official alone, the Lord Prior, does not figure in it; nor does he ever make a return of his income to the crown. And yet he had a separate income of his own, and he was in especial charge of Hampstead.* The bailiff makes all his reports to him, and the Prior holds lands in Hampstead rent free, possibly the glebe; other lands he leases from the convent. It seems as if the Lord Prior were *ex officio* the rector of the Parish Church, serving it himself on his frequent visits to the place,

* He possessed a separate house in the cloisters at Westminster, with its own hall, parlour, buttery, kitchen, and garden.

and at other times by a resident curate or monk—a hypothesis which would explain why the bailiff had nothing to do, as he had at Hendon, with the church lands or the church repairs.

I reconstruct, then, the probable history of the Hampstead church as follows: It was founded as a Parish Church not later than the thirteenth century, and the Prior of Westminster was ordinarily the rector. In the early part of the fourteenth century, or perhaps, from the commencement, the convent appropriated the living, and served the cure by monks and curates, taking all the income. From 1461 to 1477, a period of sixteen years, it threw the burden of maintenance upon the rectors of Hendon; but when the monks became themselves the rectors of Hendon, things reverted to the *statu quo ante*, and so remained till the dissolution of the monastery. Nevertheless, throughout the whole period the church never ceased, as I consider, to be a Parish Church, with its own *sacramentalia*, its own parson (who might also be the rector of Hendon), and its cemetery.

The dealings of the monastery of Westminster with the Parish Church of Hampstead and Hendon illustrate a striking feature in the ecclesiastical history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Down to the end of the twelfth century the English monasteries had grown in wealth; the monks were kindly landlords—they provided local churches, and

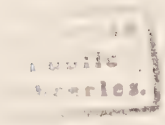
looked after the souls and bodies of their serfs. They admitted them so freely into their order that Henry II. placed restraints upon the practice. In the thirteenth century their income ceased to keep pace with their expenditure. New objects of charity, schools, hospitals, the communities of Friars, competed with the older establishments for the gifts of the faithful. And the occasions of expenditure were multiplied. Kings and Popes demanded heavy subsidies; agents had to be maintained at the court and Curia; Princes and nobles abused the monastic hospitality; and the Abbots alienated the monastery lands to perpetuate their names, or to purchase masses for their souls. Above all, the maintenance of the great Abbey buildings exhausted their resources, and Westminster Abbey was then, as it now is, a burden almost too great for its endowments to bear.

The reasons which the monks of St. Peter alleged before Sixtus IV. were, unfortunately, too true. In this extremity they naturally cast their eyes on the livings in their gift. 'The monks,' says Capes, 'were the worst enemies of the Parish Churches and the local clergy, since they pursued a steady policy of appropriating the rectorial tithes, where they held, or could acquire, the advowsons.'* The ecclesiastical history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

* Capes's 'History of the English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,' p. 296.

is thus largely a history of the struggle between the monks on the one hand, and the Bishops and parishioners on the other.* The parishioners of Hampstead counted for nothing, and the living was absorbed. The parishioners of Hendon counted for a good deal, and the monks were obliged to come to a reasonable composition.

* Capes's 'History of the English Church,' p. 279 *ff.* Hennessy supplies numerous examples.



CHAPTER III

HAMPSTEAD AND THE BISHOP OF WESTMINSTER (1540-1550)

In January, 1540, Abbot Benson and seventeen monks resigned the House of St. Peter to the King, and on its ruins Henry VIII. created the Bishopric of Westminster, with Middlesex for its diocese and the lands of the suppressed monastery for its endowment. The bishopric lasted ten years, and Thomas Thirlby was its first and only Bishop.

Thirlby was one of those able commoners whom Henry VIII. employed to depress the pride of his nobles. The father and brother of Anne Boleyn were his patrons in youth, and he was a protégé of Cranmer, in whose ultimate condemnation he very unwillingly took part. He was repeatedly employed on missions to Spain, France, Germany, and Scotland, was one of the New Testament revisers, and a leading statesman of his day, a moderate and cautious man, a Catholic at heart, but fond of compromise and averse to persecution. He held

Westminster from December, 1540, to March, 1550, and when the Westminster bishopric was abolished, he was transferred first to Norwich and afterwards to Ely. Elizabeth deposed and arrested him for his refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy, and he lived at Lambeth, the prisoner of the Archbishop, until his death in 1570.*

I have given this account of Dr. Thirlby because he and Stephen de Duddeleye are the only rectors of Hampstead whom we know by name. In 1551 the manor and living of Hampstead were presented to a layman, and Hampstead had rectors no more. 'Queen Elizabeth,' said a courtly divine with magnificent hyperbole, 'was the first virgin upon earth and the second in heaven; she restored to Westminster what her royal father had taken away'; but she could not restore Hampstead, which now passed for ever out of the hands of the Church to which the dying Confessor had confided it.

Three important documents dating from this period, and printed in the Appendix, give the first complete financial statement we possess both of the manor and the living. The valuation of 1312 refers to the manor alone.

1. On the dissolution of the monastery in 1540,

* There is a very full account of Thirlby in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' Newcourt has some further (and more doubtful) particulars.

Henry VIII. appointed 'ministers,' or temporary receivers, to manage the estate. We learn from them that the gross rental was £33 15s. 9d.; net, £32 9s. 1d. The living was farmed for 60s. 8d.; whether it had previously been farmed is not quite clear. The glebe is not mentioned.

2. We have next a valuation of the lands of the Bishop of Westminster made in 1542. The Manor of Hampstead, with 'the chapel there annexed,' is put down at £31 13s. 11¼d. gross, and £30 5s. 3¼d. net.

3. Lastly, we have an elaborate account of the chapel and its endowments in 1549. We are told that 'the Bishop of Westminster is parson [rector or *persona*] thereof, and the benefice is by year £10 which he giveth to serve the cure.' We also learn that the chapel had a parish clerk and churchwardens, and that the priest got various offerings from the people in addition to the stipend paid him by the Bishop. I am unable to reconcile the £10 a year which the living was worth in 1549 with the 60s. 8d. for which it was farmed in 1539. Perhaps when the monks were withdrawn the farmer supplied the priest. This was done in Hendon, of which it is said: 'The Bishop of Westminster is parson there, and the benefice is worth by year [*sic*] and that Sir Richard Shether is vicar there, which is worth by the year £10, and that no priest is found

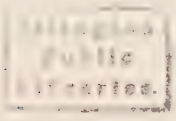
by the parson or vicar, but a curate by the vicar's farmer.' Hampstead was better off, and Hennessy has recovered the names of two—Thomas Chapelyne, who died in 1545, and Richard Gardener, who died in 1546.

These papers illustrate two curious facts. The first is that from 1370 downwards the pay of the curate remained unchanged. Before 1350 the pay was 6 marks a year. After 1370 no one would accept a curacy under £10 or a vicarage under £20.* The second is the fact that from 1350 to 1550 the income of the manor also remained stationary. Indeed, the highest lease was immediately after the Black Death, when corn and other cereals were at their highest point; during the next 200 years they somewhat declined. In comparing the amounts of these leases, it is often obvious that we are not comparing the same things. For instance, the value of the living is excluded before 1539, while the farm of 1350 included almost everything except manorial dues, and was probably a rack-rent. The subsequent leases, I imagine, included no more than the manorial dues and the demesne lands. These explanations must be borne in mind in studying the following table:

* Capes's 'History of the English Church in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,' p. 79. Under Henry V. a minimum limit was 8 marks (p. 265).

VALUATIONS AND LEASES OF THE MANOR OF HAMPSTEAD.

A.D.		£	s.	d.
1291.	Taxation of P. Nicholas (exclusive of the living)	22	6	10
1350.	Lease to Richard Hammyng (exclusive of chapel and manorial dues)	40	0	0
1372.	Lease of manorial dues and demesne lands	13	6	8
1380.	Lease of manorial dues and demesne lands	14	0	0
1412.	Lease of manorial dues and demesne lands	12	0	0
	Val. Ecc. of Henry VIII.: Hospitallers' lease	11	0	0
1540.	'Ministers' account: Hospitallers' lease ...	15	0	0
1540.	'Ministers' account: Gross rental, including chapel	32	9	1
1542.	Gross rental, including chapel	31	13	$11\frac{1}{4}$
1549.	Chapel alone	10	0	0
1650.	Parliamentary Commissioners: Manor by itself	400	0	0
	Greater tithes...	30	0	0



CHAPTER IV

LAY PROPRIETORS AND UNENDOWED PRIESTS (1551-1632)

While the monks of St. Peter were Lords of Hampstead, the Hall Grange was the centre of interest, and the chapel was its annex; under lay proprietors the interest shifts from the Hall to the village. In 1551 Edward VI. presented the manor and chapel to Sir T. Wroth, and since then three families of lay proprietors have held it—the family of the Wroths from 1551 to 1620 A.D.; the Campden family, 1620-1707 A.D.; and the heirs of Sir William Langhorne (1707 A.D.) represented by the present lord of the manor.

Hampstead was one of the smallest gifts conferred on Sir William Wroth by his royal master—so insignificant that the 'Dictionary of National Biography' in its account of Sir T. Wroth omits all mention of it. The new lord of the manor (1516-1573) was the son of an attorney, who sat for Middlesex in the Reformation Parliament (1529-1535), and who died in 1536 A.D. The youth had

Henry VIII. and Thomas Cromwell for his patrons, and his guardian, Lord Rich, married him to his third daughter, and procured for him the grant of two confiscated manors, and the lands of various monasteries. In 1545 Wroth became Gentleman of the Chamber to Prince Edward, was knighted in 1547, and soon became one of the young Prince's chief favourites. When Edward VI. came to the throne he lavished gifts on Wroth with unstinting hand, and is said to have died in his arms. Wroth retired to Strasburg during Queen Mary's reign, but Lord Rich's influence secured him from molestation, and on Elizabeth's accession he returned to England, and obtained some further employment. He died in 1573, and was succeeded by his son (1540-1606), and grandson (1575-1614), both named Robert. The grandson squandered the property, which was sold after his death to pay his debts, and purchased by his cousin, Sir Thomas Wroth (1584-1672), a grandson of the original Sir Thomas by the second son. This branch of the family had devoted itself to law and become rich, and when Sir Thomas purchased his cousin's estates he settled in Somerset, where the bulk of the property lay, and sold the outlying Hampstead property to the first Lord Campden (1620).

The Wroths cared nothing for Hampstead, and sold it just when it was becoming valuable; but the Campdens who succeeded (1620-1707) deserve re-

membrance for the benefactions of some of the family. Baptist Hicks, first Lord Campden (1551-1629) was a rich mercer of Cheapside, who sold silks to King James, and lent money to his Scotch nobles. He was proud of his business, kept his shop after he was knighted, and became immensely rich. James I. made him a baronet in 1620, and Charles I. created him a peer (1628). He died in the following year, leaving his two daughters £100,000 each. He was noted for his charities, distributed £10,000 during his lifetime, and, among other things, remembered the Hampstead Church in his will.

A shrewd and hard-headed, although just and kindly, tradesman, an English counterpart of his contemporary, George Heriot, whom many a Scotch youth blesses, and whom Scott has immortalized in the 'Fortunes of Nigel.' His eldest daughter, as benevolent as himself, founded the Campden charities for the poor of Hampstead. Her husband, Edward Lord Noel of Ridlington, was the son of a Rutlandshire baronet; he distinguished himself in the Irish wars, became a leading politician in his county, and was made a peer in 1617. He succeeded to his father-in-law's title in 1629, raised the ship-money for Charles I. in Rutland, and on the breaking out of the Civil War offered to raise a large force of horse and foot for the King, but died (1643) before he could accomplish it. His son, Baptist Noel, third Lord Campden, was a Royalist General,

and being taken prisoner in 1645 he was obliged to pay a heavy fine, and had his estates sequestrated. He submitted unwillingly to the Commonwealth, and on Charles II.'s restoration became Lord-Lieutenant of Rutland, dying in 1682. His son Edward became the first Earl of Gainsborough, and the third Earl sold Hampstead (1707) to Sir William Langhorne. But before the estate had passed out of the Gainsborough family Susannah Dowager Lady Gainsborough had made a further gift to the poor of Hampstead (1698), which was afterwards united in a single trust with Lady Campden's Charity.*

Sir William Langhorne (1629-1715), the new lord of the manor, was the son of an East India merchant of London, and although he joined the Inner Temple, he never practised at the Bar, but followed his father's business, and took an active part in the direction of the East India Company. In 1665 a crisis had occurred in the affairs of the Company's factory of Fort St. George at Madras. The Governor of the factory, Sir Edward Winter, was an ardent Royalist, and more of a soldier and a statesman than a merchant. Finding his policy ill-supported by the directors, he resigned, and they appointed as his successor Foxcroft, a plain business man, but rude, outspoken, and wanting in tact. Foxcroft, on his

* A full account of both the Wroth and Campden families will be found in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' from which I have taken my facts.

arrival in Madras, expressed his opinion of Charles II. with injudicious frankness. Winter's loyalty took fire; he accused Foxcroft of treasonable language, put him under arrest, and resumed the Governorship. To examine and compose the quarrel, the directors despatched Sir William Langhorne, who had been made a baronet in 1668. The result was that Langhorne became Governor of Madras from 1670 to 1677. The circumstances of the time and place were complicated; between the Dutch, the French, and the native Powers, Langhorne had a difficult part to play; and by caution and tact, and partly through good fortune, he played it with success. His character stands out with some distinction. He observed much state, and when he went abroad he was escorted by soldiers and outriders and the roll of drums. He also was a strict ruler, and set himself to reform the morals of the place. Everyone was obliged to attend prayers daily, and he limited a man's liquor to half a pint of brandy or a quart of wine at one sitting. Lying and licentiousness, duelling, drunkenness, and swearing were punishable with fine or the stocks, regulations more notable in the breach than the observance. Langhorne was a liberal-minded man, and when a Roman Catholic church was erected in the Fort for the Portuguese inhabitants, he celebrated its consecration with salvoes of artillery, a proceeding which gave great offence to his chaplain, and for which the directors at home

reprimanded him. His private trading occasioned his recall, for while his official income as Governor was £300, his perquisites amounted to £7,000 a year, and the directors suspected that he invested his own money in lucrative ventures and theirs in the doubtful ones. Returning home he purchased Charlton, in Kent,* and married for his first wife a widow when he was an old bachelor of seventy. The widow lived only a year, and he next married Dr. Warren's stepdaughter, Mary Aston, a young lady who took a second mate after his death in 1715. He had purchased the Manor of Hampstead in 1707, and the inhabitants promptly applied to him for assistance to rebuild their church. Nothing was done at the time, but Sir W. Langhorne bequeathed £1,000 for this purpose in his will; and this bequest formed the nucleus of the fund which was afterwards raised, although it required twenty years and an amicable suit in Chancery before the money was paid over.†

* According to the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' Sir William Langhorne purchased Charlton from the executors of Viscount Downe. Charlton belonged to the Blounts during the greater part of the seventeenth century. On May 1, 1665, Samuel Pepys and some other members of the Royal Society visited Colonel Blount at Charlton, and Pepys says of the house that it was 'a very stately sight for situation and brave plantations; and among others a vineyard, the first that ever I did see.'

† Sir W. Langhorne's life is narrated in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' and his Governorship of Madras is fully given in Talboys Wheeler's 'Madras in the Olden Time.'

From Sir W. Langhorne the Hampstead Manor passed to his sister's son, Sir John Conyers, and then by a series of collateral heirs to the Maryon family. Two ladies of this family—Mrs. Margaret Maryon, and her niece Mrs. Margaretta Maryon Weller—alone exercised the patronage of the Hampstead living during the remainder of the eighteenth century. Mrs. Weller's daughter married Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, and from that marriage the present lords of the manor derive their descent.*

From this convenient digression I return to the history of the Hampstead Chapel. Edward VI.'s grant conveyed all the temporalities of the living—the tithes, the glebe, the oblations, everything. But the lay impropriator was bound to provide for the service of the church, and to find a residence for the curate. The monks had lived in the hall; the new incumbent required a house, and the old vicarage in the High Street probably dates from this period; it was in existence before the middle of the seventeenth century.

There was now a secular priest instead of a monk for incumbent; what, then, was his legal position? When the monks of St. Peter appropriated the chapel

* Park gives a useful genealogical tree showing how Hampstead came to the present owners from Sir W. Langhorne. It is a pity that Baines did not bring the table down to the end of the nineteenth century.

of Hampstead they made no provision for a vicar. Under an Act of Henry IV. a vicar must be 'canonically instituted and inducted, and covenably endowed,' but the monks who served the cure had neither endowment, nor need of institution and induction. 'In appropriated churches where no vicar has been endowed, the officiating minister is appointed by the (ecclesiastical) appropriator or (lay) impropriator, and is called a perpetual curate.'* Throughout the seventeenth century the incumbent is called 'minister,' 'minister of Hampstead,' or 'minister of God's Word in this place.' In the seventeenth century he occasionally called himself rector. Dr. Warren is styled 'Rector of this place' on his tombstone. Since that time the holders of the cure have used the term 'incumbent.' But the popular voice has never recognised the distinction between vicars and perpetual curates—a distinction abolished by 34 and 35 Vic., c. 43—and the minister's residence was always called the vicarage, even in the Parliamentary proceedings of the seventeenth century.

The history of the incumbents of Hampstead falls into two natural divisions. From 1551 to 1632 the living is unendowed, and, although we know the names of many of the incumbents, we know nothing about them. Like most of the parochial clergy throughout Elizabeth's reign, they were doubtless

* Phillimore, 'Ecclesiastical Law,' vol. i., p. 276.

miserably paid. But after 1633 the living was endowed, and we know not only the names, but the history of the vicars.

Hennessy has recovered the names of several incumbents during the first period :

1. William Semer possibly succeeded Richard Gardener in 1546, and is incidentally mentioned in a will of 1558.

2. His successor, Stephen Castell, attended unbidden the Bishop's visitation in 1561. The parish registers, which date from 1560, were probably started by him. Castell must, therefore, have been a man of orderly mind. Henry VIII. had ordered the compilation of parish registers in 1538, but the order was not generally observed until Elizabeth's accession.

3. Thomas Pemerton, known from a subsidy roll.

4. Robert Smith ('clericus'), the first incumbent who received the Bishop's license (1588). Newcourt and Hennessy interpose after Smith the names of four curates who attended the Bishop's visitations,* but none of them had the Bishop's license, and the burial register records the death of Robert Smith, 'clerk of Hampstead,' on January 12, 1612. I therefore take Smith to have been incumbent till his death.

* The names are : Brook, 1592 ; Zachariah Cursworth, 1598 ; John Wagget, 1607 ; Bradley, 1612.

5. John Paddy, A.M., licensed in January, 1617. 'John Peddy, minister of this place,' was buried at Hampstead, October 2, 1639. He had been perpetual curate of St. Catherine Cree, Leadenhall Street, for a year (1603). Probably Paddy and Smith and the rest eked out their income with other occupations.

After Paddy the old order changed in the church, but in the village it had changed already. From 1400 to 1600 the population of the village must have been nearly stationary, and never exceeded 200. Our earliest information comes from the Chantry Certificates of 1549. 'Ther is of howseling people within the said pische the number of 147.' By 'howseling people' communicants are meant; in other words, the adult population of the village, together with all married girls.* The total number of souls can have been barely 200. The parish registers show its subsequent development. In forty-one years—from 1560 to 1600 inclusive—we have 304 deaths, or 7·4 per annum; and if we take the yearly deaths at 40 per *mille*, we must conclude that the population was nearly stationary. Between 1601-1640 the deaths are 791, or all but 20 per annum, which would give an average of 500 inhabitants; or, if we take the decade 1630-

* It was usual for girls to marry very early. Juliet was fourteen, and Pepys' and Evelyn's wives were fifteen and sixteen, if I remember right.

1640, we have 273 deaths, and a population of 700. By 1700 A.D. the population amounted to 1,800.*

Throughout this period London had been increasing at a prodigious rate, despite the efforts of Elizabeth and Charles I. to limit its growth. In 1682 Sir W. Petty calculated that London doubled itself in forty years, and the country in 360.† Hampstead was growing much faster than London, and from the same causes, although it was still beyond the radius of the ordinary Londoner. When Pepys takes an afternoon drive he goes to St. Pancras, or Islington, or Walthamstow, or Mile End; he rarely visits Hampstead, and the Hampstead wells did not become fashionable until towards the end of the seventeenth century.

* The plague visited London four times between 1600 and 1665, and it did not spare Hampstead. For 1602 and 1603 the burial registers are blank; but in 1625 there were 22 deaths, and 57 in 1662, nearly double the normal average. In 1665 they rose to 180 in a village of about 850 souls, swollen, perhaps, by refugees from London. It is said that the London judges, to escape infection, held their assize *sub Jove* in the Judges' Walk; they may have done so, but the plague accompanied them.

I have an impression that the neighbourhood of Hampstead became more insecure after 1660 or 1670 than it had been before it was a favourite resort. At any rate, from this time onwards there is occasional mention of a murder on the Heath, and sometimes of an execution. Finchley was a 'wild wooded waste, infested by foot-pads,' according to Captain Eastwick's autobiography ('A Master Mariner'), as late as the Gordon Riots.

† Cunningham, 'Growth of English Industry and Commerce,' p. 362.

The London citizens who now took up their abode in Hampstead were often of a superior class. The burial registers distinguish various persons by the honorific title of 'Mister' or 'Esquire'; they mention a few London clergymen and a knight or two who died in Hampstead, although not always buried here.

With this increase of population there came also an increase of wealth. We shall find that the Parliamentary Commissioners of the Commonwealth return the incomes of the manor at ten times its value a hundred years earlier. If Hampstead had remained a purely rural and stationary village, its income might have multiplied between two and threefold with the altered value of money. The great increase of its revenues must be ascribed to its well-to-do population and the increase of its cultivated area.

CHAPTER V

THE VICARS—1633-1905

EDWARD VI. deprived the Hampstead Chapel of its endowments; the successful London tradesman who was the first Lord Campden re-endowed it. He purchased the impropriated tithes of Woodhorne near Morpeth, in Northumberland, and by his will (1629) he gave half to the Hampstead Parish Church. But the endowment sounds strange in our ears; it was an endowment for a preacher, not for a priest, and it led to the curious anomaly of two incumbents in charge of one living.

Preaching first became general in the seventeenth century. Every parish priest was bound by canon law to instruct his people in the doctrines of the faith, but he rarely preached more than three or four times a year, and when he did the audience was often small. 'The most part of the parishioners cometh' . . . to the preaching, 'not at all.' The friars' business was to preach, and the reformers laid stress on it; but kings and great ecclesiastics discouraged it, for preaching was apt to be political.

VIEW FROM HAMPSTEAD CHURCHYARD.

Islington Public Libraries.

Public
Libraries.

Queen Elizabeth divided the clergy into two classes — those who were restricted to the reading of approved homilies, and those who had the Bishop's special license to preach. With the accession of a Scottish monarch accustomed to a multitude of preachers preaching became more common, and the Puritan movement brought preaching into such vogue that it outweighed everything else, often to the neglect of the Christian ordinances.* Even baptism fell out of fashion, and the baptismal registers under the Commonwealth cannot be relied on to show the growth of the population. The motive of Lord Campden's endowment is therefore clear. He wished the cure to be always served by a man who had the Bishop's license to preach.†

John Sprint was the first appointed to the office of preacher at Hampstead, and was licensed by the Bishop in December, 1633. Probably Paddy, the

* Jeremy Taylor naturally laid much stress upon preaching; but he points out that it was the only liberty the Anglican Church enjoyed under the Commonwealth.

† The law regarding preaching will be found in Phillimore's 'Ecclesiastical Law,' vol. i., p. 1023 *ff.* Every priest was required to 'explain to the people four times a year the fourteen articles of the faith (of which seven concerned the Holy Trinity and seven our Lord's humanity), the Ten Commandments, the two evangelical precepts, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins with their consequences, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace.' The seventh work of mercy was the burial of the dead. The necessity for a special preaching license has long since fallen into desuetude.

regular incumbent, had not a license to preach; but, however that may be, it is certain that Paddy died the 'minister of Hampstead' in October, 1639. We know nothing of the relations between him and Sprint, but the marriage register from December, 1633, to November, 1639, is blank. This hiatus covers the exact period of the joint incumbency, and the experiment of two ministers together was probably not satisfactory.

John Sprint (1633-1658) belonged to a famous Puritan family, and his younger brother Samuel, Vicar of South Tidworth, was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. Their grandfather had been Dean of Bristol. Their father, when at Oxford, suffered a short imprisonment for an attack on the vain ceremonies of the Church; but he recanted, became Vicar of Thornbury, in Gloucestershire, and published several works which were popular throughout the seventeenth century. In 1618 he published a work called 'Cassander Anglicanus,'* in which he proved that ceremonies were matters of indifference, and a contempt for them no reason for resigning a good living. John Sprint, the incumbent of

* This is the title in the British Museum Catalogue and in the 'Dictionary of National Biography'; not 'Cassandra Anglicana,' as the Rev. W. Urwick has it in his article on the Commonwealth ministers of Hampstead (*Transactions of the Hampstead Antiquarian Society*, 1900, p. 25). On the other hand, the 'Dictionary of National Biography' is altogether wrong in making the John Sprint of Hampstead live to 1690.

Hampstead, was not himself a man of mark. He was indicted in 1642 for his neglect to use the Book of Common Prayers. Possibly he omitted what his private judgment disapproved, but he pleaded 'not guilty,' and was acquitted by a friendly London jury in 1643. He died in October, 1658, and was buried in Hampstead. Of his successor, Walter Adams, we know nothing except that on Sprint's death he was presented to the living, and obtained a license.

John Sprint, of Hampstead, is best known by his numerous petitions to the Parliamentary Commissioners for an augmentation of his living, and for arrears of his salary. These have been made the study of a special monograph by the Rev. W. Urwick in a paper on the 'Commonwealth Ministers of Hampstead,'* and Mr. Urwick expresses much sympathy for this 'much-burdened and harrassed' man. His sympathy seems to me somewhat misplaced; I would rather reserve it for the Commissioners whom he harrassed. Sprint was in every way vastly better off than his immediate predecessors, and he was allowed a free hand with the Prayer-Book. His grievances are twofold: he found it hard in those troublous times to realize all that was due to him, and he had 'a great charge of children.'

* *Transactions of the Hampstead Antiquarian Society*, 1900, p. 24 *ff.*

The Proceedings, however, of the Parliamentary Commissioners which Mr. Urwick has unearthed, throw a good deal of light both upon the development of the manor and the temporalities of the living.

I. Henry VIII.'s ministers had reported the manor to be worth £32 9s. 1d. in 1539; in 1650 the Parliamentary Commissioners put it at £400. During the interval farm produce had risen about 50 per cent. in price, and money was more than twice as plentiful; but this more than twelvefold increase in the value of the manor must be ascribed to the rapidly-increasing population of the place.

II. The ground tithes were of corn and hay, and were let for £45, but the Commissioners valued them only at £30. The petty tithes of lambs, wool, pigs, fruit, and eggs are put down as worth £10 yearly. The second Lord Campden, when appointing Sprint, had leased the petty tithes to him for his life-time on a fine of £60. In an impropriated church the petty tithes, or part of them, were chargeable with the maintenance of the living.*

III. Three items made up the minister's income. The moiety of the impropriated tithes of Woodhorne, in Northumberland, were farmed for £32 13s. 4d. a year. The petty tithes of Hampstead yielded £10. John Sprint was also entitled to an annual

* Phillimore, 'Ecclesiastical Law,' vol. i., p. 276.

sum of £50 from the lord of the manor, who, being a Royalist, had been compelled to pay a heavy fine, of which £50 a year was assigned in 1646 to the Hampstead living. John Sprint's chief grievance was that this sum was always in arrears.* The total is £92 13s. 4d.;† and besides this, Sprint had a vicarage reckoned at £5 a year.

The Act of Uniformity was passed in May, 1662, and Walter Adams's successor was appointed in March, 1663. We may conjecture, but we do not know, that he was ejected for nonconformity. Readers of Pepys's Diary will recall his description of the reintroduction of the Prayer-Book in the London churches after it had fallen into general disuse. The differences between the Puritans and their opponents were profound, but the visible bone of contention was the Prayer-Book. A liturgy is the chief conservator of orthodoxy; far more than

* Mr. Burnaby said that 'not a halfpenny' of the fine 'was ever paid to the minister, as Lord Noel died in prison without paying the fine' (*Transactions of the Hampstead Antiquarian Society*, 1899, p. 58). Whether the fine was ever paid I do not know, for Lord Campden's affairs were much involved at this period, and, despite the Commissioners' orders of 1856, it was difficult to get money from him. But Mr. Burnaby has confounded the third Lord Campden with his younger brother Henry, who was taken prisoner by the Roundheads, and died in the Parliamentary camp in 1643 ('Dictionary of National Biography').

† The Parliamentary Commissioners make the total £93 13s. 4d., but there are several mistakes in their paper; nor do the figures in the various reports given by Mr. Urwick always agree.

confessions and articles of faith, it is a preventive against divagations of opinion; and it is curious to reflect that for want of a liturgy almost all the Presbyterian churches which were formed after 1662 passed into Unitarianism within sixty years. We, who are the spiritual children of both parties, may willingly confess the noble virtues displayed by either side, although we silently reject much that either party held. The divine right of Kings, the Puritan theology, and the Solemn League and Covenant slumber peacefully upon our dusty bookshelves. We do not allow that all the 'godly and well-affected' ministers belonged to one party, and that the 'malignant' Royalists were the children of the devil. When the Puritans were in power they turned out their opponents; when the Church party came in they ejected the Presbyterians. Both acted in the temper of the times, and it is left for us to grieve that it was impossible to unite Archbishop Laud and Dr. Richard Baxter within a single fold.

The history of our Hampstead vicars now becomes mainly biographical.

Robert Blacklay was appointed in March, 1663. He had been appointed to the rectory of Hanworth, a country parish south-west of London, in the preceding year. He held both livings; but resided at Hampstead, where he died, and where he was buried in January, 1678.

Samuel Nalton, a Fellow of Magdalen College,

Oxford, succeeded Blacklay in May, 1678. Two years later (1680) he was appointed rector of Haversham, Bucks. He died in August, 1706, and was buried at Hendon, where a Latin inscription commemorates his virtues. A carping critic might object that the epithet, 'vigilantissimus rector,' on his tombstone is not an apt epithet for a pluralist; but Nalton deserves to be better remembered by his will (July 23, 1706): 'Towards supplying the town of Hampstede with water by a fountaine to be fixed about the middle of the town, near the vicaridge house, I give the sum of £50, upon condition it be finished within the year of my decease; also toward a pump upon Hampstede Heath for the use of the poor living there.' We may note that Hampstead is now a town, and the poor live on the skirts of the Heath. The fountain near the 'vicaridge' long stood in the High Street.

After Nalton, the living remained vacant for nearly two years, during which the manor changed hands.

At length, in June, 1708, Humphrey Zouch was appointed vicar. He was already rector of All Hallows, Lombard Street (from 1686), and probably considered that as his principal charge. He neither died nor was buried at Hampstead; but a petition signed by him and the churchwardens to the lord of the manor for the rebuilding of the Parish Church is still extant (1709).

Zouch died in the spring of 1714, and of the life

of his successor, Francis Bagshaw (April, 1714, to January, 1735), we know nothing except the manner of his death. He fell down dead on his way home from a service in the church.*

We now come to the family of the Warrens, three generations of whom held the living in succession from January, 1735, to December, 1806. The first of these, Dr. Robert Warren, son of Erasmus Warren, was born in 1680, and educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. Before he was twenty-nine, he was rector of Worthington in Suffolk and of Charlton in Kent. Ten years later, he was appointed by the College of Brazenose, Oxford, to be the first rector of St. Mary, Stratford-Bow, a church which had had a famous history when it was a chapelry of Stepney. Last of all, Dr. Warren became (1735) the perpetual curate, or, as he preferred to call himself, the rector, of Hampstead, to which he removed, and where he died and was buried in July, 1740.

Warren's stepdaughter became the second Lady Langhorne ; and Warren was the executor of Sir William Langhorne's will. Besides his clerical avocations, he kept a school and was a prolific writer ; he carried on a controversy with dissenters, and published some volumes of sermons in 1728, which were in request as late as the beginning of the

* Park gives an extract from the contemporary number of the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

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REV. ROBERT WARREN, D.D.
1735–1740.

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nineteenth century.* He appears to have been a robust and burly, perhaps a somewhat truculent, Churchman of the Queen Anne type, and was a great friend of constituted authority and a stout defender of the faith. On his death, Mrs. Margaret Maryon, the lady of the manor and a distant cousin of Sir William Langhorne's, appointed Langhorne Warren (so named after his patron) to the Hampstead living (1740-1762). Langhorne Warren was already vicar of Dedham, in Essex, and divided his time between the two parishes. He was the last of the pluralists, who had held Hampstead for exactly a century (1663-1762), and the great event of his incumbency was the rebuilding of the church; but, before I say anything of that matter, I shall add the history of the third of the Warrens, Erasmus, son of Langhorne, and grandson of Robert Warren.

Erasmus Warren was the most juvenile vicar ever appointed to Hampstead, and his incumbency, which lasted for forty-four years, was the longest. He owed his appointment to a niece of the lady who had appointed his father. In his youth he had various disputes with the church trustees, and whatever good he did during the first half of his incumbency was forgotten long before he died, for he was seized with a mental malady in 1784; and, although he lived till 1806, leaving a considerable family, not

* They are mentioned in Lowndes's 'Bibliographer's Manual,' 1834.

a line remains to mark his unhonoured grave. Neither Langhorne nor Erasmus Warren were possessed of the old doctor's robust energy ; but whilst they were able they performed their duties in a respectable fashion. During Erasmus Warren's illness the work was done by Charles Grant, an excellent man, who was the senior curate, and also for thirty years proprietor of the chapel in Well Walk, of which more hereafter.

The present Parish Church was erected in 1745-1747, when Langhorne Warren was incumbent. By the eighteenth century the Chapel of the Blessed Mary, erected 500 or 600 years before, had become quite unequal to the requirements of the place, and, being a stone and timber building, was in constant need of repairs. It had been extensively repaired in the seventeenth century. In 1709 the vicar and the parishioners presented a petition to Sir William Langhorne, the new lord of the manor, for assistance to rebuild it. They pleaded that the 'Chappell' was ruinous, and that 'several persons (strangers especially) have to the great scandal of religion absented themselves for fear of being overwhelmed in its ruins by the fall thereof.' They had spent much money on repairs, but it remained as dangerous as ever. After a lapse of more than thirty years matters had not improved, and the parishioners submitted a petition to Parliament, setting forth that while Hampstead was 'a place of great resort,

especially in the summer season,' the chapel was 'ruinous and dangerous,' despite all their efforts. This petition also was fruitless, and the parishioners set to work to help themselves.

It was high time, for the old chapel was inadequate and dangerous. The population of Hampstead was rapidly approaching 3,000, and visitors swelled the number in summer. Every parishioner was entitled to a place, and all persons aspiring to respectability attended the service. Dissent was practically unknown. But the old chapel, despite a couple of galleries, could accommodate only 366 persons, and the chancel, 31 feet long but only 13 feet in breadth, was crowded with pews. In September, 1744, a general meeting of the inhabitants was called. Sir W. Langhorne's bequest of £1,000 was available, together with some other funds; the vicar and the lady of the manor lent their assistance; £1,750 were subscribed; and a syndicate of the subscribing parishioners (known afterwards as the church trustees) was formed to carry out the work. A faculty from the Bishop was obtained. The demolition of the old church began on Wednesday, April 17, 1745; and the new church (together with the churchyard) was consecrated on Thursday morning, October 8, 1747, by Dr. John Gilbert, Bishop of Landaff, acting by virtue of a commission from the Lord Bishop of London, Dr. Gibson. The church was consecrated to 'St. John at Hampstead,' but the

most diligent research* has been unable to discover whether the Baptist or the Evangelist was meant. Probably the Evangelist, because the memory of the hospitallers lingered long in Hampstead, and they had the Evangelist for their patron saint.

The new church was the work of Henry Flitcroft (1697-1769), a man of humble origin, who rose by his own merits and the patronage of the Earl of Burlington, to be Comptroller of Works. He was employed on Carlton House, and built several churches—St. Giles-in-the-Fields, St. Olave, Southwark, and others. Flitcroft also built the house now known as Montagu Grove, for his own residence in Frognal. The Hampstead church, like his previous work St. Giles, is a close copy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. It is a typical Georgian structure, of pleasing proportions, and exhibiting some architectural skill. Unfortunately part of the work in the tower was scamped, the foundations of the church were on moist loam, and the ventilation under the flooring was insufficient, so that in 1755 somewhat extensive repairs had to be carried out. Since then the church has been repeatedly altered, especially in 1843, and a church constructed to seat 700 people was gradually enlarged to accommodate 1,600. But the most radical alteration occurred in 1878, when the church was completely altered, a new chancel being added, and the altar

* Mr. Parker took much trouble over this matter.

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HAMPSTEAD PARISH CHURCH: INTERIOR.
1899.

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removed to the west end. The decorations were added in 1880.* The change which Flitcroft and the trustees made in the position of the tower and main entrance shows the change which had come over the Hampstead of that day. In the chapel of St. Mary the tower and main entrance faced the Hall Grange. Flitcroft removed them to the east, for the convenience of the village. The connection with the monkish hall had long since passed away. But a vestry and main entrance immediately behind the altar were the occasion of daily inconvenience, and the bold transference of the choir and altar to the west end was a great improvement.

The present church trustees date their existence from the meeting of the parishioners held in September, 1744. The syndicate then formed was practically a standing committee of the vestry which entered into certain agreements with the lord of the manor, and was charged with the erection and repair of the church. In later days the trustees numbered

* I add some details of possible interest. The two bells, cast from the three old ones, bear the inscription, 'T. Lester made me,' and the date '1747'; also the names of the Rev. Langhorne Warren, the two churchwardens (J. Dutton and J. James), and two overseers. The churchyard gates and railings came at the same time from the Chandos estate, near St. Albans, and were bought at auction for 14s. 6d. and 15s. 6d. per cwt. Handel must have often passed through the gates before they were removed. The churchwardens' staves in the church were put up in 1820 and 1823; they bear the names of the churchwardens—W. Mallard and G. Nenen on the first, B. Griffin and R. Cook on the second.

among them many of the leading gentlemen of the parish; but the original trustees appear to have been chiefly business men of Hampstead itself. They were a jovial crew, who appear to have done very well without the vicar during his frequent absences, and they met, as business men were wont to do, at the Lower Flask, or the Three Tuns, or the King's Arms, or it might be at Mathews or the Hampstead Coffee House. The churchwardens belonged to the same class. Mr. Joseph Cranfield, the honest publican of the Lower Flask, was churchwarden in 1744, and subscribed fifteen guineas to the fund. The landlord of the King's Arms was churchwarden a few years later.

The chief business of the trustees was to raise funds, and, when subscriptions failed, they mortgaged the offertory and pew-rents for annuities. The allotment of pews also greatly exercised the trustees. The vicar, the lord of the manor, and the architect (whom they could not pay), had certain pews allotted in perpetuity. Others were granted to donors of £50 for themselves and their heirs as long as they resided in the parish. This arrangement involved the trustees in questions of succession and residence, and sometimes threatened to end in a law-suit; but by 1780 all these seats had fallen in.

It is unnecessary to follow the trustees' subsequent proceedings. Suffice it to say that, in 1827, when

the trustees desired to enlarge the church by a voluntary rate, and doubts were raised as to their legal powers, they obtained an Act from Parliament which confirmed the position already sanctioned by age.

Another legal error of older standing has lasted down to the present day. In 1709 Mr. Humphrey Zouch and his parishioners stated that the Chapel of St. Mary was extra parochial, and not subject to the visitation of the Bishop. In 1744 the parishioners took legal opinion on the point as to whether they were exempt from the Bishop's jurisdiction and whether they required to take out a faculty for the demolition of the chapel. They were advised not to raise the question, and in 1747 Mr. Skelton wrote to the vicar that 'he wondered anybody should have a doubt about the matter,' since all the parsons since 1588 had been licensed by the Bishop. In the commencement of the nineteenth century, Park again advanced the same claim to exemption, basing it on the exemption of the monks of St. Peter, Westminster, from the Bishop's jurisdiction, and the claim is repeated by Baines. But, if my history is correct, the claim is utterly baseless. Edward the Confessor could not exempt a church which did not exist, and the exemption of the monastery and abbey of Westminster had nothing to do with the parish churches in their gift. Hampstead was an ancient parish church, no more exempt from the Bishop's jurisdiction than Hendon, about which no one ever

doubted. On the erection of the bishopric of Westminster, it passed under the jurisdiction of the Westminster Bishop, and on the abolition of that bishopric it returned with the rest of the diocese into the hands of the Bishop of London. Of course, when Hampstead was insignificant, and monks served the cure, the Bishops had small occasion to interfere, but after that time every incumbent was legally bound to obtain the Bishop's license, and since 1588 he has never failed to do so.

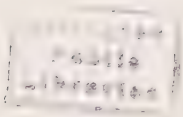
With the death of the Rev. Erasmus Warren, the eighteenth century and the age of pluralists and nepotism passed away. Hogarth has pictured for us the Georgian divine, with magnificent periwig and Geneva gown and bands, holding forth under the lofty sounding-board in his pulpit high above the congregation, while the keen-faced parish clerk sits on the watch below, and the beadle scowls at the urchins, and the smug apprentice in the pew makes eyes at his master's daughter (in strict breach of his master's confidence), and the charity children are ranked round the great organ in the gallery.

We should have seen something of all this if we had walked in with Dr. Samuel Johnson to hear the discourses of the Rev. Langhorne Warren. We still can boast of Hogarth's church, with its shallow dome, and arcaded galleries, and waggon-vaulted roof, and quasi-Renaissance architecture, but now enriched

and beautified beyond anything the eighteenth century imagined.

We should also have seen the periwigged clergyman, and the magnificent beadle, and the scared charity children, the altar and pulpit draped in red velvet, and the Royal arms high displayed. There were the high, old-fashioned pews, the manorial pew curtained off so that the occupant might meditate undisturbed if the afternoon was hot and the sermon long. Due distinction was paid to rank, for the Hon. Mr. Townshend and Fraser Honeywood (the rich Lombard Street banker) worshipped here, and it was to be hoped that the Earl of Chesterfield would come. Six pews were reserved for visitors of distinction (I do not meam Dr. Johnson, who probably shuffled with his wife unobserved into some back place in the gallery); while servants were summarily relegated to the window-seats. There were no lamps, for evening services were unknown until 1836, and after dark the moonlight and the ghosts and the rats filled all the airy spaces. But one thing in Hogarth's picture was yet wanting. I do not know if the congregation sang, but they had no organ. And so in 1767 the trustees, encouraged by the unexpected death of their last annuitant, determined to raise £500 for an organ on a fresh annuity. But Providence and Mrs. Bray came to their rescue. Mrs. Bray was willing to bequeath her organ to the church, provided she were paid a rent for it and ap-

pointed organist. It was a poor affair, but the trustees jumped at the offer; only they bargained that Mrs. Bray must confine herself to 'accompanying the psalmody,' doubtless Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical version of the Psalms. Black tables, with the names of donors and the amount of their donations, were suspended on either side the organ, and a circular window was put up in the church with a picture of David playing the harp. There was no choir, and Mrs. Bray's successors occasionally vexed the souls of the trustees by employing deputies. However, about 1790 one gentleman taught the charity children 'Psalm-singing' in such satisfactory style that he was patted on the back and got three guineas extra for his pains. A paid choir of men and boys was started early in the nineteenth century, but our forefathers kept organist and choir in due subjection, and were jealous of an ornate service. The trustees informed one organist that his style of playing is 'deficient in solemnity and religious feeling,' his voluntaries being particularly objectionable. This too lively gentleman resigned. In 1856 the organist is directed to discontinue his setting of the *Te Deum*, and to substitute a simple chant for it. The Psalms were probably recited, not chanted, even in the sixties. The services of the organist on week-days were confined to Christmas and Good Friday, to which latterly one service on Ascension Day was added. Our present musical services date from Mr. Burnaby



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REV. SAMUEL WHITE, D.D.

1807–1841.

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and his churchwarden, Mr. Alfred Bell, and our fine organ—the fourth in succession from Mrs. Bray's—is the gift of Mr. R. Prance.*

The first vicar of the nineteenth century, Dr. Samuel White (1765-1841), was one of the numerous younger sons of a rich man of old family, Squire of Hoddesdon Hall, in Oxfordshire. He was originally articled to a solicitor, but, quitting the law, he entered St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and, after his ordination, served for a short time as junior curate at Hampstead. In 1801 his father purchased for him the living of Brightwell Baldwin, Oxfordshire, and when the Hampstead living fell vacant he purchased that also. Resigning Brightwell Baldwin, Dr. White came to Hampstead (1807), where he married, and lived to the end of his days (January, 1841). During his time Hampstead was the home of several notable persons, and in his youth Dr. White was an intimate friend of the Percevals, the family of Mrs. Joanna Baillie, and others. Samuel Hoare, C. Bosanquet, C. Holford, and many well-known leaders in evangelical and philanthropic work were associated with him. Dr. White preferred the open country of Frognal to the town; he gave up the vicarage to the curates and took up his residence in Montague Grove, where his grand-daughter, Mrs. Thompson,

* The *Hampstead Annual* for 1905 contains an excellent article on 'The Organists of the Parish Church,' by Mr. J. S. Curwen, but it had not appeared when the above was written.

then a little child, used to visit him. She can still recall the features of the dignified and white-haired gentleman who was her grandfather. He is buried with his wife in the catacombs under the church.

Dr. White's relations with Hampstead nearly cover the first half of the nineteenth century. Those were the palmiest years in the history of the place. Joanna Baillie and the Barbaulds, Miss Aiken, and Leigh Hunt, not to mention the great name of Keats, gave the place a literary atmosphere, and Constable set his brother artists the fashion of residing here.

At the beginning of the century Hampstead was still a small town of little more than 4,000 souls, although increasing rapidly at the rate of over a hundred a year. It extended along the High Street in a broken line of old-fashioned, red-tiled houses standing out irregularly against the sky, and with a picturesque gable here and there. Many of the houses had large gardens behind them, or crowded alleys, into which you dived through a square passage boarded overhead. There were public-houses with their painted sign-posts standing in the open ground before them, and low-ceilinged shops crammed with goods. Outside the gardens and orchards of the towns were solitary red-brick mansions darkened by the weather and surrounded by umbrageous trees, and shady lanes winding through lofty, moss-stained walls. No one dis-

turbed the quiet of these lanes unless it were some chance carriage or stray pedestrian, a page-boy on urgent business loitering on his way, or a coachman whistling while he opened the stable-door. The air was pure, free from the fogs and smoke of the four-mile distant Metropolis, which stretched its long-drawn length beside the windings of the Thames in the valley below the hill. The place was pervaded with a sense of cultured leisure and sunshiny repose.

But when Dr. White died in 1841, the population numbered 10,000, and under his successor it was fast becoming an annex of London. The break up of the old parish was inevitable, but under Dr. White it was only talked of, it had not yet begun. In 1826, when the question was first seriously mooted, Hampstead had about 8,000 inhabitants, more than three-fourths of whom lived in the town or in the neighbourhood of Pond Street.* The

* The figures given in a report made to the vestry in 1826 are these:

	Inhabitants.
Kilburn	672
West end	329
North end	301
South end, Pond Street, etc. ...	1,281
Haverstock and London Road ...	322
The town and parts adjacent to the parish church, chiefly towards the north-east, east, and south-east ...	5,103
	8,008

The number of houses can be arrived at by dividing these figures by 7. The Poor Rate was paid by 1,144 houses, of which

dissenters were put down at 1,350, and the Anglicans at over 6,600. The Anglicans had for their use two proprietary chapels beside the Parish Church, and it was reckoned that these three buildings might seat some 3,000 people; but while the Parish Church and the Well Walk Chapel were full, only 340 seats were let in the newly-built Downshire Hill Chapel. These two proprietary chapels were in the strict sense chapels-of-ease to the Parish Church; their clergy, although licensed by the Bishop, had to obtain the vicar's permission to officiate, and half the offertory of the Eucharist went to the mother church. As they begin to play a part in the history of the place, it is time to say something of them.

The history of the Well Walk Chapel has often been told. An enterprising tavern-keeper, who lived during the incumbency of an absentee vicar, the Rev. H. Zouch, started a chapel as an adjunct

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537 were rated at £10 and under. The number who received relief averaged 300.

The ecclesiastical division was as follows:

Roman Catholics ...	(about)	300
Wesleyans	(about)	300
Baptists and Independents...	...	700
Unitarians	...	50
		1,350
Members of the Church of England ...		6,658

There were 2,954 seats in the Parish Church and the two chapels, of which 2,472 were appropriated.

to his place of entertainment, and hired a hedge chaplain to celebrate unpremeditated, or clandestine, marriages. If the wedding-dinner was celebrated in the gardens, the ceremony was thrown in gratis. On Sundays the worthy landlord provided a preacher and a couple of sermons for his pleasure-seeking visitors.* This rather scandalous business did not last very long. After 1720 the popularity of the Wells declined, and in 1733 the Great Room of the establishment† was fitted up as a proprietary chapel for the use of parishioners who had settled in the neighbourhood. When the Parish Church was a-building (1745-1747), the parishioners hired it. Mr. Mitchell was then the proprietor, and Mr. Wright the curate in charge, his income apparently about £100 a year. The Rev. C. Grant, already

* Wroth ('London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century') gives a capital account of the Hampstead Wells. I borrow the following delightful quotation from him; it occurs in a play of 1706:

'"This Hampstead's a charming place," exclaimed Arabella, the citizen's wife: "to dance all night at the Wells, be treated at Mother Huff's, have presents made one at the raffling shops, and then take a walk in Cane Wood with a man of wit that's not over rude."'

Dancing, music, gambling, with shows that anticipated Burlington Arcade—these were the attractions of the Wells. The fashion lasted only for about twenty years, and after 1720 they began to be disreputable. Mr. Potter has recently published a book on the Hampstead Wells.

† Not to be confounded with the Long Room, in which Evelina danced, and which was on the opposite side of the way.

mentioned as senior curate of the Parish Church, and who died in 1811,* was for thirty years proprietor, and apparently the minister, of this chapel. From his time the chapel became a regular place of worship, and an offshoot of the Parish Church. Mr. Briggs (1811-1814), Dr. Burrow (1814-1820), Mr. Marsh (1820-1838), Archdeacon Hankinson (1838-1848),† and the Rev. Daniel Tucker (1848-1852), a retired Indian missionary, and perhaps connected with the well-known Anglo-Indian family of that name, successively occupied it. The congregation was large and comparatively rich, but even in 1826 the place was too small for them. In 1849 it was determined to create a new parish for this part of the town, and Christ Church, which was consecrated in 1852, boasts of two Bishops for its first two incumbents.‡

The second proprietary chapel, St. John's, Downshire Hill, was erected in 1819, when this part of the town was rapidly extending. It is a very plain and unpretentious building, and has had a long succession of ministers, among them an unusual proportion of literary men.§ When Mr. Wilcox

* He is buried under the yew-tree in the old churchyard.

† My dates are taken from the school records, and are merely approximate.

‡ The Hon. T. T. Pelham (1852-1855), Bishop of Norwich, and E. H. Bickersteth (1855-1885), Bishop of Exeter. Mr. Tucker officiated for a short time in the new church.

§ I have drawn up the following list from Hennessy, Baines, and the school records, and I have added to it what I could

was proprietor and incumbent, he contested, unsuccessfully, the *jura parochialia* of the Parish Church. St. John's has never advanced beyond its original status, and is now a chapel-of-ease to St. Stephen's.

Besides these chapels there were various Nonconformist places of worship, some of them possess-

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learn by private inquiry, but it does not pretend to be more than approximately correct: (1) The Rev. W. Harness, author of a 'Life of Miss Mitford,' built the chapel in 1818 or 1819. (2) From 1820 to 1832 the Rev. C. Worsley, D.D., was proprietor and minister. (3) The Rev. J. Wilcox next became the incumbent proprietor, and had a suit with Dr. White, the vicar of the parish. Mr. Wilcox mortgaged the chapel to Messrs. R. Wood, Claypone, and others. (4) In 1835 the Rev. C. R. Cooper succeeded Mr. Wilcox. (5) The Rev. J. Ayre came in 1838. He was the editor of a couple of magazines, and compiled the 'Treasury of Bible Knowledge.' There is an account of him in Baines's 'Hampstead.' (6) The Rev. Canon C. D. Bell, D.D., 1855-1861. From Hampstead he went to Ambleside, and thence to Cheltenham. He was the author of several well-known works, and Baines's 'Hampstead' has a notice of him. (7) The Rev. J. Kirkman, M.A., 1861-1870. Mr. Kirkman became, in 1870, the first Vicar of St. Stephens, and held it until December, 1903, a few months before his death. He was a delightful companion, a kindly and original spirit, and his mental range was extraordinary. He was deeply learned in ancient and modern literature, in science and history, perhaps also in theology. (8) The Rev. C. H. Waller, 1870-1877. (9) The Rev. H. Wright, 1877-1880, who was drowned in Coniston Lake. Baines mentions him. (10) The Rev. G. S. Karney, 1881-1889. On his resignation followed (11) the Rev. Canon R. B. Girdlestone, 1889, well known for his writings in connection with the Old Testament. (12) The Rev. W. Hind, 1903, the present incumbent.

ing a fair antiquity. The Unitarian Chapel, which had commenced as a Presbyterian Chapel in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and had had rather an intermittent existence, attained some eminence under the ministry of Mr. Barbauld at the end of the eighteenth century. Whitfield's preaching-tent on the Racecourse is said to have been the nucleus of a Congregational church; the Methodists had a meeting-house near Evans' Row before 1771; there was a small Baptist chapel on Holly Mount in the early years of the nineteenth century; and the Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Mary owes its origin to the *emigrés* of the French Revolution and to an excellent *emigré* priest, the Abbé Morel. But all these communities were small and unaggressive; they probably did not much exceed one-sixth of the population, and, with the doubtful exception of the Unitarians, they took no prominent part in the religious history of the place. Hampstead was decidedly Low Church and intensely Evangelical for three-quarters of a century.

After Dr. White came the Rev. Thomas Ainger. He was born at Whittlesea in 1799, and from the Norwich Grammar School he went to St. John's, Cambridge. He began his clerical career as curate of St. Giles', Reading, became assistant minister of St. Mary's, Greenwich (1825), and was appointed perpetual curate of Hampstead in 1841. In 1859 he was made a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and he

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REV. THOMAS AINGER, M.A.

1841–1863.

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died and was buried in Hampstead in 1863.* A medallion on the east wall of the Parish Church gives one an excellent impression of the man—energetic, pious, sensible, and kindly.† He was an impressive speaker, and a very active clergyman, helping to found parishes, churches, dispensaries, and schools. Two years after his appointment he enlarged the Parish Church at a cost of £3,200; but this was insufficient. Hampstead was fast becoming a suburb of London, and Mr. Ainger, to his own pecuniary hurt, was the first to insist on the ecclesiastical partition of his parish. The parish (1848 A.D.) and the Parish Church (1856) of St. Saviour in South Hampstead were his handiwork, and he assisted in the creation of Christ Church (1852). Three other parishes—St. Mary's, Kilburn (1857), St. Paul's, Avenue Road (1856), and St. Peter's, Belsize Park (1859) were added during his incumbency.‡

* A memoir of Mr. Ainger, with a volume of sermons, was published after his death. The 'Dictionary of National Biography' and Baines's 'Hampstead' both contain short notices of him.

† There is also a bust of him in the dispensary which he founded.

‡ In the commencement of the nineteenth century the town of Hampstead lay to the north-east, east, and south-east of the Parish Church; but about 1820 Pond Street was built, and the intervening ground occupied with houses. This is the only effort at extension which Hampstead itself made; the rest is due to the spread of London. About 1845 Hampstead was invaded from the south. Down to that year St. John's Wood and the Adelaide Road were fields, with a few scattered houses; but between 1845

Besides Church extension—his main business—Mr. Ainger took an active interest in popular education, and built the existing parish schools, of which a brief account may here be given.

In 1781 a philanthropic schoolmaster of Heath Street, Thomas Mitchell by name, founded a club of Hampstead tradesmen under the uncouth title of the 'Philo-Investigists.' For a time the club contented itself by issuing circulars for the cultivation of public virtue, the age which preceded the French Revolution being passionately addicted thereto. But the club soon found some object less nebulous and more practical. Robert Raikes, the good printer of Gloucester, had started Sunday-schools in 1781; they taught the alphabet and the Catechism, and multiplied with exceeding rapidity over the country. In 1787 the Philo-Investigists started a Sunday-school at Hampstead; and besides that, they sent twenty-four of the most promising children at their own expense to day-schools. Mr. E. Montagu and the clergy gave them their assistance, and from

and 1855 South Hampstead and South-West Hampstead were built over. West Hampstead dates from 1856; previous to that time there were only a few houses in the Edgware Road. Belsize dates from much the same time. If the reader will remember that Hampstead was originally confined to the neighbourhood of the High Street and Heath Street, that in the beginning of the eighteenth century it began to stretch to the Wells, and extended itself about 1820 to Pond Street, he will get a good idea of what it was before it was engulfed in London.

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REV. CHARLTON LANE, M.A.

1864–1873.

To face p. 93.

1789 collections on behalf of the charity were annually made in the Parish Church and the Well Walk Chapel. Regular attendance was rewarded with shoes and stockings, a Bible, and a Prayer-Book. A girls' school was at length built in Holly Walk in 1818, a boys' school next the workhouse in 1826, and an infant school in the following year. Supervision over schools so scattered was difficult, and the boys' school was incommodious, and the site objectionable. Although the question of bringing all the schools together had long been mooted, it was Mr. Ainger's energy which carried the matter through. He built the present boys' and infants' schools in 1856, the girls' school in 1862. Mr. Burnaby afterwards enlarged them, and Mr. Brook Deedes altered and improved them (1902-1904). In 1904 they were taken over provisionally by the London County Council. Such are the origins of popular education in Hampstead, the work of local tradesmen in its inception, and superintended by the clergy throughout its evolution.*

The Rev. Charlton Lane (1797-1875), Mr. Ainger's successor, was nearly two years his senior when he accepted the appointment (1863). He had

* It is, perhaps, of some interest to know that Mr. T. Park, who is supposed to have been young Park's father or uncle, was treasurer of these schools in 1817, and for some time after. The junior Park acknowledges his obligations to Dr. White, and the senior Park must have been on intimate terms with him.

been educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, and was perpetual curate of St. Mark's, Kennington, Surrey, from 1832, and Rural Dean of Southwark from 1854. He resigned Hampstead in 1873,* and died in 1875. He is buried in the Hampstead churchyard. Three new parishes were created during his incumbency, and his family has ever been foremost in all missionary work.

Sherrard Beaumont Burnaby (1827-1902), the last but one of our vicars, was brought up by his guardian, Sherrard Burnaby, Vicar-General, and lived in Doctors' Commons from childhood to ordination. He was a pupil at St. Paul's, and a scholar of Christ's, Cambridge, and took mathematical honours in 1854. After his ordination he was successively curate of Holy Trinity, Stepney (1857-1864), chaplain to Earl Fortescue (1864-1866), and Rector of Wapping (1866-1873). An outbreak of cholera occurred when he was at Wapping, and he signalized himself by his exertions for its prevention and relief. In 1873 he became Vicar of Hampstead, and took an active part in all local public business. For a time he presided over the vestry, of which he was *ex-officio* chairman, and to the end he shared in the work of the Poor Law Guardians and of the Campden Charities. But his

* Not in 1872, as Baines ('Record of Hampstead') says. Both Mr. Lane and Mr. Burnaby sign the school managers' minute-book on the same date—July 7, 1873.

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REV. SHERRARD BEAUMONT BURNABY, M.A.

1873–1900.

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incumbency is chiefly notable for the transformation he effected in the Parish Church, adding a new chancel to the west (to which he transferred the altar), and realtering and decorating the whole building. He added greatly to the beauty of the services. He also built a mission-hall, and enlarged the parish schools. In all these undertakings he received invaluable aid from Messrs. A. Bell, Essex, and E. E. Lake, who successively held the post of vicar's churchwarden from 1874 to 1904. Mr. Burnaby resigned the cure in September, 1900, after a severe illness, and died and was buried at Great Missenden in February, 1902.* His public occupations did not make him forget his youthful tastes, and in the intervals of illness he completed a standard work on the Jewish and Mohammedan calendars (part of a much larger project), which some of his friends and parishioners published (1901) in commemoration of his incumbency. He was a noble reader, and completely lost his voice.

In any account of Mr. Burnaby's incumbency it would be unjust to omit all mention of the Rev. M. G. Tracy, his senior curate for twenty-three years, a man of the most excellent honesty, and held in high esteem by all sorts of people. The

* Mr. Burnaby was a man of a very exact mind. But the date of his appointment is out by a year in Baines's 'Records of Hampstead,' and the date of his death on his tombstone (1901) is a year too early.

very fishes flock to his hook, for he is an expert angler, and, better than St. Antony of Padua, he not only preaches to the fishes, but he catches them.

The last of the parish clerks, Mr. Langmead, died (1882) in Mr. Burnaby's time. We have seen that the parish clerk was in existence when the monks gave over the church. The parish clerk was a sub-deacon, and one of the inferior clergy, the attendant and shadow of the priest. He carried the holy water before water had ceased to be blessed; he kept the keys of the church, and received fees on all marriages and funerals. The parish registers down to 1735 are in his handwriting, and he was a beautiful calligraphist when calligraphy (literally) flourished.* Pepys collected many specimens of this fine art. The difference between the inferior and superior clergy is visible at a glance, for the latter generally had an abominable signature, as became persons of quality. The later parish clerks fell in this respect, unfortunately, far below their predecessors, for Messrs. Benjamin Olive (died 1816), Samuel Stevenson (1816-1851), and William Langmead (1851-1882), who between them held the post for a century, grew to be very old and

* The parish clerks sometimes preferred calligraphy to accuracy. The burial registers in the early part of the seventeenth century are evidently written up at the end of the year from notes, and occasionally a year is omitted altogether.

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REV. BROOK DEEDES, M.A.
1900.

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shaky. Gainsborough's famous portrait gives a favourable impression of a class which still lingers in the country; and some of the old parish clerks were men of some substance, such as Joseph Read, who died in 1712. So, perhaps, was John Kippen, who records the death of his child with a faltering hand in 1662.

Mr. Burnaby closes the list of departed vicars. Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori; illi autem sunt in pace. With the Rev. Brook Deedes, the son of a well-known M.P. and ecclesiastical commissioner, and educated at Harrow and Christchurch, Oxford, we come to the present time. Mr. Deedes spent a number of years in Northern India, where his energy and organizing powers found full scope, and contributed largely to the formation of the new diocese of Lucknow, of which he was the first Archdeacon. On leaving India he accepted, in 1897, the cure of Hawkhurst in Kent, and moved to Hampstead in November, 1900. His work as Rural Dean of Hampstead and Vicar of St. John's is before all eyes, and we hope that many years may elapse before it is requisite to write its history.

I have completed the list, so far as it is known, of the fathers and teachers of God's flock in Hampstead. They faithfully reflected the prevailing opinions of their time. Puritan and Presbyterian during the Commonwealth, they were Anglican and

Tory under Queen Anne and the early Hanoverians, and Evangelical and perhaps Calvinistic when the Low Church was all powerful. In the early times the monks and the Hall were the centre of the local life. When the church and the manor parted company the secular clergy had their home in the village, and the village life developed around them and the parish vestry. In the eighteenth century the interests of Hampstead multiplied and widened. It became a summer resort and pleasure-ground for Londoners, and before the century closed it had become the abode of several families with more than a local reputation. In the nineteenth century men of many kinds made it their residence—rich merchants, lawyers, doctors, politicians, and public officials, literary men, artists, and musicians—whose various coteries often gave Hampstead society a distinctive and sometimes an exclusive character. The hamlet which numbered two hundred souls in 1550, and less than three thousand two centuries later, had quintupled itself by 1850. It is now fast becoming engulfed in the great city, a *pied-à-terre* for fleeting generations of nomadic householders who eat and drink and sleep in Hampstead, and who live in London. But the poets confer immortality; and Hampstead is great because Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote the 'Vanity of Human Wishes' 'in the small house just beyond the Church,' and John Keats, sitting in the garden of a little villa, close by

a brand-new ugly brick chapel, wove into undying words the soulful melody of the nightingale as it flitted in the evening light across the darkling undulations of the Heath.

But if Hampstead has lost its individuality, it still retains something of its healthful air and its former beauty. Early on a Sunday morning in June, from various vantage points among the leafy surroundings of Frognal, one looks down through the haze on the confused wilderness of innumerable roofs called London, sparkling in the sunshine, and showing every little inequality of the valley. There are towers and steeples and domes everywhere, the towers of Westminster Abbey, the dome of the Albert Hall, the great wheel, and that iron skeleton of Babel erected at Wembley. Above the haze one looks across to the woods and fields and villas of the Surrey hills standing out brilliantly in the sun. A profound calm possesses the great city. Or, if we prefer a more lurid picture, we may take our stand on Parliament Hill, and peer down through the obscure night at the dull and confused lights struggling in the pall of smoke, and the glare as of the Inferno reflected from the sky. We hear the shrieks of the engines, the unending rumble of the carriages, noises and cries, a ceaseless hum and undertone echoing in one's ear. But behind us lies the Heath; and the quiet moonlight floods the woods on the crest of the hill, and the great stretches of fair

sward, and the ponds nestling in the hollows; and one faintly hears the striking of a distant clock. One can still dream in Hampstead for a few hours, undisturbed by the rush of London and the struggle for existence—*fumum strepitumque Romae.*

But above the tumult of the city, and the chances and changes of the centuries, the church of Hampstead stands pre-eminent, far-visible, on the crest of the hill, sole survivor of the past, and mother of the neighbouring parishes, the silent spectator of human hopes and human decay, of untold sorrows and of unspeakable joys, a church whose walls are darkened with age, and whose tower is clad with the clinging ivy, surrounded by scarce legible gravestones which Time and forgotten tears have worn, and amid immemorial yews which wither at the top when they first catch sight of London, as the fabled poplars of Abydos withered at the sight of fatal Ilium.

I close this essay with a copy of the inscription out of which it sprang, an inscription which has received its finishing touch from the practised hand of the Master of Trinity. Besides setting up the inscription, the trustees have made a collection of all the portraits of the vicars which they could discover; one set they have put up in the church vestry, the other they presented to the Hampstead Subscription Library.

INSCRIPTION.

'Cogitavi dies antiquos et annos æternos in mente habui.'

Si te loci religio ita movet
Ut de viris quoque illis scisciteris
Qui patribus locuti sunt verbum Dei,
Siste et lege
Nomina Rectorum Vicariorumque hujus ecclesiæ,
Olim capellæ Beatæ Mariæ,
Ex Westmonasterio exortæ,
Et ecclesiæ Hendonensi annexæ.—
Mox A.S.—MDXL. in manum Episcopi Westmonasteriensis redditæ,
Et post ædem restitutam
S. Joanni de Hampstead
Fausto illo die et semper venerabili
Die viii Oct. A.S.—MDCCXLVII.
Felicissime consecratæ.
Desunt quædam nomina,
Quorum memoria etsi periit in terris,
Vivit et fulget in cælestibus.

The following version of the inscription is fairly close :*

'I have considered the days of old, and the years of eternity have I kept in remembrance.'

'If the sacred associations of the place so move thee that thou desire to know something of the men who spoke the word of God to our forefathers, stay and read the names of the Rectors and Vicars of this Church, formerly the Chapel of the Blessed Mary. Deriving its origin from the Monastery of Westminster, it became a Chapelry of the Church of Hendon, but was presently restored in 1540 into the hands of the Bishop of Westminster. And when the edifice was rebuilt, it was most happily consecrated to S. John of Hampstead on the 8th day of Oct., 1747, a notable and

* The motto is taken from the Vulgate of Ps. lxxvi. (lxxvii.) 5. The reference in the last line is to St. Matt. xiii. 43 and Dan. xii. 3, 'The righteous shall shine.'

auspicious day worthy to be had in perpetual honour. Certain names are wanting. Their memory has perished, indeéd, upon earth, but lives and shines among the inhabitants of heaven.'

A list is added of the rectors and vicars, with their dates; but the following synopsis gives some additional information:

Date of Institution.	Rectors.	Remarks.
1333.	Stephen de Duddeleye.	King's chaplain to Edward III.
1540.	Thomas Thirlby.	Bishop of Westminster; appointed Bishop of Norwich in 1550, and afterwards (1554) Bishop of Ely; died 1570.

Date of Institution.	Vicars.*	Remarks.
1312.	John de Neuport.	'Clericus' in rent roll of 1312.
1413.	John Bastard.	Note that, previous to 1588, we do not know the date of any license or institution; the dates represent merely the years in which the names of the incumbents are found.
—	Thomas Chapelyne.	Died December, 1545.
1546.	Richard Gardener.	Died 1546.
1558.	William Semer.	—
561.	Stephen Castell.	Attended the Bishop's visitation in 1561. Parish registers started in 1560.

* I have used 'vicar' and 'perpetual curate' as synonymous terms for the purpose of this list and of this essay.

Date of Institution.	Vicars.	Remarks.
1571.	Thomas Pemerton.	—
1588.	Robert Smith.	Licensed 1588. 'Robert Smith, clerk of Hampstead,' was buried at Hampstead, January 12, 1612.
1617.	John Paddy, M.A.	'Mr. John Peddy, minister of this place,' buried at Hampstead, October 2, 1639; formerly in charge of St. Catherine Cree, Leadenhall Street.
1633.	John Sprint, M.A.	Preacher 1633-1639; incumbent 1639-1658. 'Jo. Sprint, minister of this place,' buried at Hampstead, October 19, 1658.
1658.	Walter Adams.	Was admitted on December 31, 1658, on presentment of Viscount Campden, the patron, and certificates from Dan. Cox, J. Bacheler, Nath. Angels. Adams was probably ejected in 1662.
March, 1663.	Robert Blacklay, M.A.	'Robert Blaicklay, late minister of God's Word,' buried at Hampstead, January 31, 1678; also Rector of Hanworth.
May, 1678.	Samuel Nalton, B.D.	Also Rector of Haversham; died August 1, 1706; buried at Hendon, aged 75.

Date of Institution.	Vicars.	Remarks.
1708.	Humphrey Zouch.	Rector also of All Hallows, Lombard Street, from February, 1686; died 1714; probably buried in the city.
April, 1714.	Francis Bagshaw, B.D.	Died after holding service. 'Francis Bagshaw, minister of this parish,' was buried at Hampstead, January 8, 1735.
January, 1735.	Robert Warren, D.D.	Died July 7, 1740, aged 60, and was buried at Hampstead. 'Rector of this parish.'
July, 1740.	Langhorne Warren, M.A.	Died June 26, 1762, aged 51, and buried at Hampstead.
1762.	Erasmus Warren, M.A.	Died December 8, 1806; buried at Hampstead.
December, 1807.	Samuel White, D.D.	Died January 29, 1841, aged 75, and buried at Hampstead in the Catacombs.
March, 1841.	Thomas Ainger, M.A.	Died November 15, 1863, aged 64; buried at Hampstead.
March, 1864.	Charlton Lane, M.A.	Resigned July, 1873; died May 29, 1875, at St. John's Wood, aged 78; buried at Hampstead.
July, 1873.	Sherrard Beaumont Burnaby, M.A.	Resigned September 30, 1900; died February 23, 1902, aged 75; buried at Great Missenden.
November, 1900.	Brook Deedes, M.A.	—

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APPENDIX I

HAMPSTEAD CHAPEL

PATENT ROLLS, 7 EDWARD III., P.I.M. 21
(p. 407 of the printed edition).

Pontefract, February 17, 1333.

Grant to Stephen de Duddeleye, King's Clerk of the Chapel within the manor of Hampstead, in the King's gift by reason of his custody of the lands, and heir of Gilbert de Barentyn, tenant-in-chief of the late King.

APPENDIX II

FAMILY OF GILBERT DE BARENTYN

FEET OF FINES, 35 EDWARD I., NO. 361.

A.D. 1306.

Fine between Joan, widow of William de Barentyn, plaintiff, and Gilbert, son of William de Barentyn, deforciant, of two parts of the manor of Dalley.

Feudal Aids, Middlesex.

A.D. 1316.

Names of all the hundreds and vills, with their lords, in County Middlesex:

Hundred of Elethorn.
Vill of Herdynton-cum-Dalley.
William de Harpenden.
Gilbert de Barentyn.
Vill of Hampstede.
Vill of Westminster, with Kntchtabrigg and Eye.
Abbot and Convent of Westminster.

Patent Rolls.

April 5, 1323.

Commission to certain persons to arm 'footmen' to fight for the King against the Scots.

'John de Enefeld and Gilbert Barentyn, County Middlesex, 100. Afterwards, on 5 May, as the said Gilbert could not attend thereto, Thomas Wyot was appointed in his place.'

Feet of Fines, Middlesex, 3 Henry V., No. 12.

A.D. 1415.

Fine between Reginald Barentyn and John Brown, plaintiffs, and Robert and Isabel Oliver, deforciants, of the manors of Herdynton and Dalley, and the advowson of the Church of Herdynton.

Feet of Fines, Middlesex, 3 Henry V., No. 13.

Fine between Reginald Barentyn, of the county of Oxford, esquire, and John Brown, plaintiffs, and Thomas Lovell, deforciant, of the manors of Dalley and Herdynton, and the advowson of the Church of Herdynton.

APPENDIX III

HAMPSTEAD CHAPEL, 1428 A.D.

FEUDAL AIDS, MIDDLESEX.

A.D. 1428.

Particulars of the account of John Pyke and others, collectors of a certain subsidy, 6s. 8¼d., from those parishes within County Middlesex whose churches are not taxed, or were taxed before the Quindene of St. Michael last past.

The Church of Hampstead not taxed.

APPENDIX IV

APPROPRIATION OF HENDON RECTORY, 1476 A.D.

PATENT ROLL, 16 EDWARD IV., PART I., M. 6.

[*Abstract.*]

October 12, 1476.

Licence, for the appropriation in mortmain (after inquisition shall be made), by John Esteney, the abbot, and the convent of St. Peter's, Westminster, of the church of St. Mary, Hendon, with the chapel of St. Mary, Hampstede, annexed, which is of their patronage, provided that a vicarage be sufficiently endowed.

CHANCERY, INQUISITION AD QUOD DAMNUM, FILE 454, No. 86, 16 EDWARD IV.

[*Abstract.*]

November 4, 1476.

Inquisition taken at the vill of Westminster, in county Middlesex, 4 November, 16 Edward IV. [A.D. 1476], before John Crafford, escheator, by the oath of William Heyron and others [jurors], who say that it is neither to the

damage or prejudice of the king, nor of others, if the king grant to his beloved in Christ John Estney, now abbot of the monastery of the Blessed Peter of Westminster, and of the convent of the same place, and their successors, that they may appropriate the church of the Blessed Mary of Hendon, with the chapel of the Blessed Mary of Hampstede, to the same church annexed, and may hold it to their own proper uses to them and their successors for ever, which said church, with the chapel aforesaid, the king by his letters patent to the before named abbot and convent, and their successors, granted to be appropriated. And, moreover, the said jurors say upon their oath that that church, with the chapel aforesaid, is of the advowson and patronage of the aforesaid abbot and convent, and that the aforesaid church, with the chapel annexed, is worth yearly in all issues, according to their true value, £16. In witness of which thing, as well the aforesaid escheator as the aforesaid jurors, have severally affixed their seals, the place, day, and year aforesaid.

APPENDIX V

VALUATION OF THE POSSESSIONS OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY ON ITS DISSOLUTION

AUGMENTATION MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS
(vol. 426, p. 68).

A.D. 1539, *or perhaps a little later.*

	£	s.	d.
Manor of Hampstead, with the Church or Chapel there annexed, worth in rents of assize of free and customary tenants there £10 2s. 7d., beyond 20s. of the rent of the late Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, now in the King's hands	10	2	7

	£	s.	d.
Farm of the manor, with the lands, meadows, feedings, and pastures, etc., to the same manor belonging (except rents of tenants there, wards, marriages, woods, outlawries, perquisites of court, and other things to royalty belonging), leased to St. John of Jerusalem by indenture	15	0	0
Farm of the church or chapel there, with the tithes and oblations by the year ...	0	60	8
Perquisites of court, worth, one year with another	4	6	6
Sale of wood, etc.	0	20	0
Reprises: Fee of the bailiff, with the robe of the farmer, 26s. 8d., worth by the year clear	32	9	1

APPENDIX VI

VALUATION IN 1542 A.D.

Rentals and Surveys, Roll 845.

Value of all the lands, etc., of the Bishopric of Westminster, taken by virtue of a Commission out of the Court of Tithes and First Fruits, October 30, 34 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1542):

			£	s.	d.
Hendon Manor, with the Rectory, worth clear by the year			105	14	9½
Manor of Hampstead, with the chapel there annexed, worth in rents and farms there, with 43s. 4d. perquisites of court, and 20s. sale of wood ...	31	13 11¼			
Less allowance of fees, etc.	28	8			
Clear			30	5	3¼

APPENDIX VII

VALUATION OF CHAPEL, 1549 A.D.

COLLEGE AND CHANTRY CERTIFICATES, No. 34.

Taken from Hennessy.

Edward Wesley gave unto the said Churche for an obite 6s. 8d., whereof to the priest and clerke 6d., and to the pore 6s. 2d., whiche some was delyud unto the Churchwardens by Maister Lynton.

	£	s.	d.
One Slavyng is bounde to fynde a light upon the high Altar in the Churche ther according to composysyon made between the Master and Bretheren of the College of Ettyn and the said Slavyng expendyng for the same yerely	0	2	4
George Kempe accordyng to Margaret Kempes will, his mother in consideration of eleven Beests by her to hym bequethed and geven shulde dystribute euy goode friday to the pore 6s. 8d. in brede, 5d. to the priest of the pische, 13d. to the porest householders, 22d. for an obite in thole ...	0	10	0

Ther is of howseling people within the said pische the number of 147. The Buschope of Westmnr is pson and the benefice is by yere £10, whiche he geveth to sarve the cure.

APPENDIX VIII

VALUATION OF THE MANOR OF HAMPSTEAD, 1312 A.D.

This valuation is taken from a fourteenth-century MS. book of 124 pages, folio, in the Cambridge University Library, which contains surveys, made at different times, of various manors belonging to the monks of St. Peter's, Westminster ('Cambridge University Library Catalogue of MSS.,' vol. iii., p. 698, No. 2071, K. k. v. 29, Part VIII., 'Extenta Manerii de Hamstede, 6 Edward II.'). The

MS. is full of contractions, and somewhat hard to read. Of course, the paragraphs are not numbered in the original; I have numbered them for convenience' sake. The object of this valuation was to obtain a standard rent-roll, by which the yearly accounts of the manor could be checked. We have a similar, but much less elaborate, rent-roll of Hampstead, dated 1372, in the Westminster Abbey Archives, and Professor Thorold Rogers has printed rentals of Southampton, Cuxham, and Ibstone in the second volume of his 'History of Agriculture and Prices in England' (pp. 648-659); but, as he remarks, such documents are rare. The survey is a private one, made for the use of the convent by their officials, a monk and a cleric—doubtless one of the abbey monks and the resident curate of the parish, both subordinates of the Prior who had charge of the manor and the church. (The names of the Royal Commissioners for levying the tallage at this time are given in the Patent Rolls of December 16, 1312, and there was no attempt to form a Domesday Book under Edward II., so that it is impossible to confound this with any public document.) The survey was executed on a systematic plan, the domain lands, meadow, pasture, waste, and woods coming first; then the free tenants; and, lastly, the customary ones. These last correspond to the *nativi* and *cotterelli* of Professor Rogers's rent-rolls. In the present instance the cotters, who held either no land or only a croft, come after the customary tenants, and are really, although not nominally, distinguished from them by the fact that, living by day labour, they were not obliged to work gratis on the lord's estate. I may further remark that only those items are entered in the survey which yielded to the lord of the manor a clear profit in cash or in kind, as well as all miscellaneous sources of income. Lastly, I have to thank my friend Dr. Duthoit for his very valuable assistance both with the translation and notes.

MS. K. K. V. 29.

1 (f. 25 *b*). Extenta[1] manerii de Hamsted facta coram fratre Johanne de Bucleye et Johanne de Neuport clerico[2] septimo die mensis Nouembris anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi vj[3] [to] per Robertum de Kyngeswell Willelmum le Wodeward Andream Atteponde Stephanum Bertram Petrum Rouland Johannem Turgys Thomam Martyn Ricardum Blackett Willelmum de Aldenham Rogerum Bycok Thomam Broune Nicholaum le Hirde Rogerum Attepond Ricardum Adam et Ricardum le Childe Juratos.[4] Qui dicunt per sacramentum suum quod aysiamenta domorum necessariarum valent per annum iijs.[5]

2. Item dicunt quod fructus gardini herbag' cum quodam Curtilagio[6] adiacentibus valent per annum iijs. viij*d*.

3. Item dicunt quod est ibi quoddam tenementum quod fuit Johannis de Kelleburn in manu domini quod solebat reddere de Redditu per annum iiijs. x*d*. et de tallag' ijs.[7] et dimittitur ad firmam per annum pro vijs. Et sic extenditur.

4. Item dicunt quod est ibi quedam pastura que vocatur Alwynesfeld que est in manu domini et dimittitur ad firmam per annum pro iiijs. vj*d*. Et sic extenditur.

5. *Terra Lucrabilis*.—Sunt ibi in dominico de terra per particam xvj ped' dim'[8] cciij acre iij Rode. Vnde in campo de Pirleghstile[9] xj acre j Roda. In Litle Ryschote vij acre j Roda dim'. In Carpeschote xj acre j Roda dim'. In le Schote[10] on Westhalnehagebussh[11] [f. 26 *a*] xvij acre dim'. dim' Roda. Apud Calfcroft j acra j Roda. In Somerlese sunt in diuereis parcellis xxiiij vij acre dim'. In campo de homefeld in diuersis parcellis lxj acre. In Litelelde-bury iij acre. In magna Eldebury iij acre dim' prec' acre iiij*d*.

Et est summa valoris tocius terre predicte.

MS. K. K. V. 29.

1. Valuation[1] of the manor of Hamsted, made in the presence of Brother John de Bucleye and John de Neuport, clerk,[2] on the seventh day of the month of November, in the sixth year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward (*i.e.*, of Edward II., 1312 A.D.),[3] by Robert of Kyngeswell, William the Wodeward, Andrew Atteponde, Stephen Bertram, Peter Rouland, John Turgys, Thomas Martyn, Richard Blakett, William of Aldenham, Roger Bycok, Thomas Broune, Nicholas the Hirde, Roger Attepond, Richard Adam, and Richard the Childe, jurors.[4] Who make oath and say that the easements of the privies are worth 3*s.* yearly.[5]

2. They also say that the garden produce and mown grass, together with a certain farmyard[6] and adjoining plots, is worth 3*s.* 8*d.* yearly.

3. They also say that there is in the manor a certain holding, now in the lord's possession, which was formerly held by John of Kelleburn, and used to pay 4*s.* 10*d.* rent yearly, besides 2*s.* tallage.[7] It is now let on lease for 7*s.* And it is valued at that.

4. They also say that the pasture called Alwynesfeld is in the lord's possession, and is let by him on lease for 4*s.* 6*d.* yearly. And it is so valued.

5. *Arable Land.*—The domain has 203 acres and 3 roods of land as measured by the perch of 16½ feet,[8] situated as follows:

	Acres.	Roods.
In the Pirleghstile lands[9]	11	1
In Little Ryschote	7	1½
In Carpeschote	11	1½
In the Schote[10] (field) called Westhalne-hagebussh[11]	17	2½
By Calfcroft	1	1
In Somerlese in 24 scattered plots ...	7	2
In the Homefeld land in scattered plots	61	0
In Litel Eldebury	3	0
In Great Eldebury	3	2

It is worth 4*d.* an acre.
The total value of all the aforesaid land is .

6. *Pratum.*—Item dicunt quod sunt ibi de prato falcabili [MS. 'falt'][12] per eandem particam xxviij acre dim' Roda. Et est pastura communis inter festum sancti Michaelis et festum Purificacionis beate Marie vnde in campo de Pyrlegh iiij acre dim'. In prato de Trendelmed' iij Rode dim'. In Chalfcroftehend' dim' acra dim' Roda. In prato de Somerlese xiiij acre. In prato de Homefeld' iiij acre dim'. In Turgysegione iij acre dim' prec' acre iiijs.

Et est summa valoris tocius prati predicti.

7. *Pastura.*—Item dicunt quod sunt ibi de pastura per eandem particam vij acre j Roda[13] et est pastura communis inter festum sancti Michaelis et festum Purificacionis beate Marie. In Homefeld' ix acre j Roda. In Pyrlegh' iuxta Hagebusshe j acra dim' prec' acre.

Summa valoris pasture predicte.

8. Item dicunt quod est ibi quedam alia pastura que est communis inter festum sancti Michaelis et festum Purificacionis beate Marie continens per eandem particam xxxiiij acras dim'. Vnde in Purleg' xj acre. In Northfeld' xxiij acre prec' acre v*d.*

Summa valoris predicte pasture.

9. *Pastura de Terra Frisca.*—Item dicunt quod sunt ibi pastura de terra frisca per eandem particam vij acre j Roda que est communis inter festum sancti Michaelis et festum Purificacionis beate Marie prec' acre ij*d.*

Summa valoris pasture frisce xiiij*d.* ob.

6. *Meadow.*—They also say that, measured by the perch of the same standard, there are 28 acres and half a rood of enclosed meadow[12] fit for haymaking (*lit.*, fit for mowing), and it is commonable grazing between Michaelmas and the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary (February 2). Of this there are:

	Acres.	Roods.
In the Pyrlegh land	4	2
In the meadow of Trendelmede ...	0	$3\frac{1}{2}$
In the ditto of Chalfcrofte	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$
In the Somerlese meadow	14	0
In the Homefeld meadow	4	2
In Turgysegio	3	2

It is worth 4*s.* an acre, and the total value of all the aforesaid meadow is .

7. *Pasture Land.*—They also say that there are 7 acres 1 rood[13] of pasture land measured by the same standard perch, and it is commonable grazing between Michaelmas and the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary. There are:

	Acres.	Roods.
In Homefeld	9	1
In Pyrlegh by Hagebusshe	1	2

Worth per acre .
Total value of the aforesaid pasture is .

8. They also say that there is a certain other pasturage which is commonable between Michaelmas and the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, and it amounts to 34 acres 2 roods measured by the same standard perch. It is situated:

	Acres.	Roods.
In Purlegh	11	0
In Northfeld	23	0

Worth 5*d.* per acre.
Total value of the aforesaid pasturage .

9. *Fallow Land.*—They also say that there is pasture land of land now fallow which comes to 7 acres 1 rood measured by the same standard perch, and it is commonable between Michaelmas and the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, and it is worth 2*d.* per acre.
Total value of the fallow land pasture, $14\frac{1}{2}d.$

10 (f. 26 *b*). Item dicunt quod est ibi vnum molendinum ad ventum[14] quod valet communibus annis xxxiij*s.* iiij*d.*

Summa valoris molendini per annum xxxiij*s.* iiij*d.*

11. Item dicunt quod sunt ibi quidam bosci qui vocantur Northwode Notehirst et Sheppbrighull[15] in quibus pastura est communis per annum pannagium in eisdem nullum.[16] Item quidam bosci qui vocantur Wytebirche Brockehole et Tymberhurst separal' in quibus non est pastura nec pannagium sed possunt in omnibus predictis boscis vna cum haiis certa camp' fieri[17] et vendi communibus annis octo milia fagettorum que valent de dicta factura communibus annis vj*li.* x*s.*[18] et sic extenditur.

12. Item dicunt quod est ibi quedam Bruera[19] in qua possunt vendi communibus annis ij*s.* Bruere. Et sic extenditur.

Summa valoris Bruere per annum ij*s.*

13. *Libere Tenentes de Hamstede.*—Dominus Rogerus le Brabanzon[20] tenet j messuagium xl acr' terre reddit inde per annum x*s.* vj*d.* ad iiij anni terminos videlicet ad festum Natiuitatis domini Pasch' sancti Johannis Baptiste et sancti Michaelis per equales porciones pro omni seruicio.

14. Idem Rogerus tenet tenementum Johannis filii Gerini de sancto Egidio ad vitam eiusdem Johannis reddit per annum xix*s.* ad iiij predictos terminos equaliter pro omni seruicio.

15. Priorissa de Kelburne tenet quamdam plateam terre que vocatur le Rudyng reddit inde per annum xiij*s.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter pro omni seruicio.

16. Magister hospitalis sancti Jacobi tenet xxiiij acras terre et bosci reddit xl*s.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter pro omni seruicio.

17 (f. 27 *a*). Tenementum quod vocatur Hamsted' Temple reddit per annum xx*s.* pro omni seruicio.[21]

18. Robertus de Kyngeswell tenet j messuagium xvj acr' terre reddit inde per annum v*s.* viij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos videlicet ad festum Natiuitatis domini vij*d.* ad festum Pasche xij*d.* ad festum sancti Johannis Baptiste

10. They also say that there is a windmill,[14] which in ordinary years is worth 33*s.* 4*d.*

Total value of the mill, 33*s.* 4*d.* per annum.

11. They also say that there are certain woods called Northwode, Notehirst, and Sheppbrighull,[15] in which the grazing is commonable throughout the year, but in them pannage there is none.[16] There are likewise certain reserved woods called Wytebirche, Brockhole, and Tymberhurst in which neither grazing nor pannage is allowed. But in all the aforesaid woods, together with the copses, hurdles (?)[17] can be made, and in ordinary years 8,000 bundles of faggots can be sold, and the income from the said industry amounts to £6 10*s.* annually[18] on an average. And it is accordingly so valued.

12. They also say that there is a certain heath,[19] the heather of which will fetch 2*s.* in average years. And it is so valued.

Total value of the heather, 2*s.* per annum.

13. *Free Tenants of Hampstead.*—Sir Roger le Brabanzon[20] holds a dwelling-house and 40 acres of land. He pays for it annually 10*s.* 6*d.* in equal instalments at the 4 quarter-days, in lieu of every kind of service. The 4 quarter-days are Christmas, Easter, St. John the Baptist's Nativity (June 24), and Michaelmas.

14. The same Roger has the holding of John, son of Guerin of St. Giles, for the lifetime of the same John, and pays for it 19*s.* annually in lieu of all service, and in equal instalments at the aforesaid quarters.

15. The Prioress of Kelburne holds a certain plot of land called Le Rudyng, and pays for it 13*s.* yearly in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days in lieu of all service.

16. The Master of the Hospital of St. James (Westminster) holds 24 acres of land and wood, and pays 40*s.* for it in lieu of all service in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days.

17. The holding called the Hampstead Temple pays 20*s.* in lieu of all service.[21]

18. Robert of Kyngeswell has a dwelling-house and 16 acres of land, and pays for it 5*s.* 8*d.* annually on the 4 quarter-days aforesaid—namely, 7*d.* at Christmas, 12*d.* at Easter, 6*d.* on St. John Baptist's day, and 3*s.* 7*d.* at

vj*d*. et ad festum sancti Michaelis iij*s*. vij*d*. Et reddit ij aucas ad festum sancti Petri ad uincula[22] prec' utriusque iiij*d*. Et dabit j gallinam ad festum Natiuitatis domini prec' ij*d*. Et debet sectam.

19. Summa redditus assise liberorum tenentium per annum cxiij*s*. x*d*. videlicet ad quemlibet terminum xxviij*s*. v*d*. ob.

Summa aucarum ad festum sancti Petri ad uincula ij auce que valent viij*d*.

Summa gallinarum j gallin' que valet ij*d*.

20. *Custumar'*.—Stephanus Bertram tenet j messuagium xv acr' terre reddit inde per annum xx*d*. ad predictos terminos equaliter. Et dabit j aucam ad festum sancti Petri ad uincula prec' iiij*d*. Et dabit ij gallinas ad festum Natiuitatis domini prec' utriusque ij*d*. Et dabit v oua ad Pasch' prec' quad'. Et ariabit cum vna caruca vel cum quanto iungit[23] per j diem ad semen yemal' et per j diem ad semen quadrag'[24] si carucam habeat et si non habeat carucam nec aueria quo iungat non arrabit nec dabit. Ideo non extenditur. Et herciabit[25] per j diem ad semen yemal' et per j diem ad semen quadrag' ad cibum domini et valet opus per diem vltra reprisas[26] ob. Et cariabit fimum domini per j diem ad cibum domini et valet opus ultra reprisas ij*d*. Et sarclabit [f. 27 *b*][27] bladum domini per duos dies ad cibum domini et quia opus non valet sumptus. Ideo non extenditur. Et levabit fenum in prato domini per v dies ad cibum domini videlicet semel in die panem potum[28] et cas' [? caseum] et valet opus vltra reprisas ob'. Et cariabit fenum per j diem ad cibum domini et valet opus vltra reprisas ij*d*. Et faciet [fac'] ij precarias[29] ad bladum domini metendum in Autumpno et valet opus per j diem vltra reprisam j*d*. ob'. Et cariabit frumentum in Autumpno per j diem et auenam per j diem ad cibum domini et valet opus vtriusque diei ultra reprisas ij*d*. Et si dominus voluerit erit p̄s[30] et tunc erit quiet' de redd' et operibus suis. Et percipiet pro liberacione[31] sua qualibet septimana j bus' frumenti.

Michaelmas. And he delivers 2 geese worth 4*d.* each at the feast of Peter's Chains (August 1),[22] and he will give 1 fowl worth 2*d.* at Christmas. And he is bound to attend the manor court.

19. Total rental of the assise of the free tenants is 113*s.* 10*d.*—that is to say, 28*s.* 5½*d.* at each quarter.

Total of geese to be delivered at the feast of Peter's Chains = 2 geese, which are worth 8*d.*

Total of fowls = 1 fowl, value 2*d.*

20. *Customary Tenants.*—Stephen Bertram has a house and 15 acres of land, and pays 20*d.* for it annually in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days. And he will supply 1 goose worth 4*d.* on the feast of Peter's Chains, and he will supply 2 fowls worth 2*d.* each at Christmas, and 5 eggs worth ¼*d.* at Easter. And he will provide a plough if he has one, or any plough-cattle he has,[23] and shall plough for 1 day at the winter sowings, and for 1 day at the spring sowings,[24] and if he has neither plough nor plough-cattle which he can yoke, he will neither plough nor pay (for not ploughing). It is therefore not included in the valuation. And he will harrow[25] (the domain lands) for 1 day at the winter sowings, and for 1 day at the spring sowings, the lord providing food, and the work is worth (to the lord) ½*d.* a day clear, besides the reprises[26] (*i.e.*, deductions for any necessary outlay). And he will cart the lord's manure for 1 day, the lord providing food, and the work is worth 2*d.*, besides the reprises. And he will hoe[27] the lord's corn for 2 days, the lord supplying food, and as the work is not worth spending money on, it is not reckoned in the valuation. And he will work at haymaking in the lord's meadow for 5 days, the lord supplying the food—namely, 1 meal a day of bread, drink,[28] and cheese—and besides the reprises the work is worth ½*d.* And he will cart the hay for 1 day, the lord providing food, and the work is worth 2*d.*, besides the reprises. And he will give 2 days to reaping the lord's corn in autumn when he is called on to do so,[29] and the work is worth 1½*d.* a day, besides reprises. And he will cart the corn in autumn for 1 day, and the oats for 1 day, the lord supplying food, and each day's work is worth 2*d.*, besides reprises. And if the lord shall will it,

21. Willelmus Bycok tenet j messuagium xiiij acr' terre reddit iij*s*. iiij*d*. ad iiij anni terminos equaliter. Et dabit ij gallinas ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et dabit v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra et faciet in omnibus aliis sicut predictus Stephanus Bertram.

22. Andreas Attepond tenet j messuagium xviij acr' terre reddit iiij*s*. vij*d*. ad predictos iiij terminos videlicet ad quemlibet terminum xiiij*d*. ob. Et vlterius ad festum sancti Michaelis j*d*. Et dabit vj gallinas ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et dabit x oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et dupplicabit consuetudinem et seruicia predicti Stephani Bertram.

23. Willelmus Wodeward tenet j messuagium xiiij acr' terre reddit iij*s*. x*d*. ob ad predictos quatuor terminos videlicet ad quemlibet terminum xj*d*. ob et vlterius ad festum sancti Michaelis ob'. Et dabit ij gallinas ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et dabit v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus Bertram.

24. Johannes Turgys tenet j messuagium xij acr' terre reddit xviij*d*. ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et dabit v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus.

25. Thomas Martyn tenet j messuagium xj acr' terre reddit ij*s*. ij*d*. [f. 28 *a*] ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus.

26. Thomas Broune tenet j messuagium iij acr' dim' terre reddit viij*d*. ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus.

27. Thomas Broune tenet j messuagium iij acr' dim' terre reddit viij*d*. ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra.

he will act as *præpositus*[30] (? headman and steward of the estate), and in that case he will be free from payment of rent and from his obligations to labour. And he will receive 1 bushel of corn each week for his 'livery.'[31]

21. William Bycock has a dwelling-house and 14 acres of land, and pays 3*s.* 4*d.* rent in equal instalments at the 4 quarters of the year. And he will supply 2 fowls at Christmas, price as above. And he will supply 5 eggs at Easter, price as above; and he will do in all other matters as the aforesaid Stephen Bertram does.

22. Andrew Attepond holds a dwelling-house and 18 acres of land, and pays 4*s.* 7*d.* rent on the aforesaid quarter-days—that is to say, 14½*d.* each quarter, and 1*d.* extra at Michaelmas. And he will supply 6 fowls at Christmas, value of each as above; and 10 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will render double the dues and services of the aforesaid Stephen Bertram.

23. William Wodeward holds a dwelling-house and 14 acres of land, and pays 3*s.* 10½*d.* on the said quarter-days — namely, 11½*d.* each quarter, and ½*d.* extra at Michaelmas. And he will supply 2 fowls at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in all matters as the aforesaid Stephen Bertram does.

24. John Turgys holds a dwelling-house and 12 acres of land, and pays 18*d.* in equal instalments on the 4 quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in all matters as the aforesaid Stephen.

25. Thomas Martyn holds 1 dwelling-house and 11 acres of land, and pays 2*s.* 2*d.* rent in equal instalments at the 4 quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in all things as the aforesaid Stephen.

26. Thomas Broune holds a dwelling-house and 3½ acres of land, and pays 8*d.* rent in equal instalments on the 4 quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in all things as the aforesaid Stephen.

27. Thomas Broune holds a dwelling-house and 3½ acres of land, and pays 8*d.* rent in equal instalments on the 4 quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas,

Et iij oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet me [*sic*][32] dict' seruiciorum et cons' predicti Stephani Bertram.

28. Johannes le Wodeward tenet j messuagium xij acr' terre reddit ij*s.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus.

29. Johannes le ffoghler tenet j messuagium x acr' terre reddit ij*s.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus.

30. Rogerus Adam tenet j messuagium xxiiij acr' terre reddit ij*s.* ix*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini ut supra prec' ut supra. Et dabit v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus.

31. Sara Roisea et Johanna filia Johannis Atteloft[33] tenent j messuagium xj acr' terre reddunt iiij*s.* viij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabunt j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et facient in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus Bertram.

32. Petrus Roulond tenet j messuagium xij acr' terre reddit ij*s.* iiij*d.* Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus Bertram.

33. Willelmus Robert tenet j messuagium xij acr' terre reddit ij*s.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ut supra prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus Bertram.

34 (f. 28 *b*). Johannes Eton tenet j messuagium et xv acras terre reddit inde per annum ij*s.* viij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos. Et dabit ij gallinas ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus.

35. Rogerus Bycok et Johannes Attemwe tenent ij messuagia v acr' terre reddunt ij*s.* iiij*d.* ad predictos iiij ter-

value as above; and 3 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he shall be liable for half only[32] (?) of the dues and services to be rendered by the aforesaid Stephen Bertram.

28. John the Wodeward holds a dwelling-house and 12 acres of land, and pays 2*s*. rent in equal instalments at the 4 quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in everything as the aforesaid Stephen.

29. John the Ffoghler (Fowler) holds a dwelling-house and 10 acres of land, and pays 2*s*. rent in equal instalments on the 4 quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in everything as the aforesaid Stephen.

30. Roger Adam holds a dwelling-house and 24 acres of land, and pays 3*s*. 9*d*. rent in equal instalments on the 4 quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in everything as the aforesaid Stephen.

31. Sara Roisea and Johanna, daughter of John Atteloft,[33] hold a dwelling-house and 11 acres of land, and pay 4*s*. 8*d*. in equal instalments on the 4 quarter-days. And they will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And they will do in everything as the aforesaid Stephen Bertram.

32. Peter Roulond holds a dwelling-house and 12 acres of land, and pays 2*s*. 4*d*. rent. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in everything as the aforesaid Stephen Bertram.

33. William Robert holds a dwelling-house and 12 acres of land, and pays 3*s*. rent for it in equal instalments on the 4 quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl as above, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in everything as the aforesaid Stephen Bertram.

34. John Eton holds a dwelling-house and 15 acres of land, and pays 3*s*. 8*d*. rent for it annually at the 4 quarter-days aforesaid. And he will supply 2 fowls at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in everything as the aforesaid Stephen.

35. Roger Bycok and John Attemwe (Attemore ?) hold 2 dwelling-houses and 5 acres of land, and pay 2*s*. 4*d*. rent

minos. Et dabunt ij aucas ad gulam augusti[22] prec' ut supra. Et ij gallinas ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et vj oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et facient in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus.

36. Elias Atteponde tenet j messuagium vij acr' terre reddit xx*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et faciet in omnibus sicut predictus Stephanus.

37. Nicholaus le herde[34] tenet j messuagium viij acr' terre reddit ij*s.* vj*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j aucam ad festum sancti Petri ad uincula prec' ut supra. Et j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra.

38. Idem Nicholaus tenet j messuagium ij acr' terre reddit viij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et iij oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra.

39. Mattill' Atteloft' tenet xvj acras terre et faciet xvj opera in Autumpno prec' cuiuslibet operis ij*d.* pro omni seruicio.[33]

40. Thomas Martyn Sara et Johanna tenent j messuagium x acr' terre reddunt vj*s.* viij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabunt j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra.

41. Galfridus Werkeman tenet j messuagium v acr' terre et nichil reddit in denariis sed dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et dabit v*d.* de medeseluer[35] ad festum Natiuitatis sancti Jonannis Baptiste. Et faciet qualibet septimana per annum exceptis iij septimanis festiuis Natiuitatis domini Pasche et Pentecostes j opus. Et faciet quicquid ei iniunctum [f. 29 *a*] fuerit per totum diem pro j opere et est prec' operis inter festum sancti Michaelis et sancte Marie in Martio j*d.* Et inter festum sancte Marie in Martio et festum Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste j*d.* ob. Et inter festum Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste et sancti Michaelis ij*d.*

on the said quarter-days. And they will provide 2 geese at the commencement of August (August 1),[22] value as above; and 2 fowls at Christmas, value as above; and 6 eggs at Easter, value as above. And they will do in everything as the said Stephen.

36. Elias Atteponde holds 1 dwelling-house and 7 acres of land, and pays 20*d.* rent on the aforesaid quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will do in everything as the said Stephen.

37. Nicholas the herd[34] holds 1 dwelling-house and 8 acres of land, and pays 2*s.* 6*d.* rent in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days. And he will provide 1 goose at the feast of Peter's Chains (August 1), value as above; and 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above.

38. The same Nicholas holds a dwelling-house and 2 acres of land, and pays 8*d.* rent in equal instalments on the 4 said quarter-days. And he will provide 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 3 eggs at Easter, value as above.

39. Matill' Atteloft holds 16 acres of land, and will give 16 days' work in autumn in lieu of all service. Each day's work worth 2*d.*[33]

40. Thomas Martyn, Sara, and Johanna hold a dwelling-house and 10 acres of land, and pay 6*s.* 8*d.* rent in equal instalments at the 4 quarter-days. And they will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above.

41. Galfrid Werkeman holds a dwelling-house and 5 acres of land, and pays no rent in cash, but he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And he will pay 5*d.* of medeselver[35] at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24). And he will give 1 day's labour every week in the year, excepting the 3 festal weeks of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. And he will work all day at whatever he is ordered for 1 day's work; and the value of his work is 1*d.* between Michaelmas and Lady Day in March, and 1½*d.* between Lady Day in March and the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24), and 2*d.* between the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and Michaelmas.

42. Willelmus Andr' et Roisea Rokes tenent j messuagium v acr' terre et nichil reddunt sed dabunt ij gallinas ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et dabunt v oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra. Et dabunt v*d.* de medsiluer ad festum sancti Johannis Baptiste. Et facient in omnibus sicut predictus Galfridus Werkeman.

Red' et seruicia istorum currunt in comp' de Hendon et non hic.

43. Ricardus Blakette tenet j messuagium xxx acr' terre reddit iij*s.* x*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

44. Ricardus Child[36] tenet j messuagium xxx acr' terre reddit iij*s.* x*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

Isti duo videlicet Ricardus Blakette et Ricardus Child debent arrare per j diem si carucam habeant ut supra. Et debent herciare per j diem et valet opus ij*d.* Et debent triturare ij bus' frumenti vel siliginis et valet opus ob' quad'. Et triturabunt v bus' auene et valet opus ob' quad' iidem debent sarclare per j diem et valet opus j*d.* iidem debent leuare fenum in prato domini per j diem et valet opus j*d.* Et facient iiij precarias ad bladam domini metendam in autumpno et valet quelibet precaria j*d.* ob'. Et cariabunt blada domini in autumpno per j diem et valet opus iiij*d.*

45. Thomas Broune tenet dim' acr' terre reddit vj*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

46. Petrus Roulond tenet j curtilagium reddit iiij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

47. Johannes Molendinarius tenet j messuagium de ten' Rogeri Wycckes reddit ij ob ad predictos iiij terminos videlicet ad quemlibet terminum ob'. Et vlterius ad festum sancti Michaelis ob'.

48. Johannes de Eton tenet j plateam terre reddit ij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

49 (f. 29 *b*). Thomas Cheseman tenet j messuagium ij acr' terre reddit x*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

42. William, Andrew, and Roisea Rokes hold a dwelling-house and 5 acres of land, and pay no money rent, but they will supply 2 fowls at Christmas, value as above; and 5 eggs at Easter, value as above. And they will pay 5*d.* of medsilver on St. John the Baptist's Day (midsummer). And they will do in everything as the said Galfrid Werkeman.

The rents and services of these two go into the Hendon account, and not here.

43. Richard Blakette holds a dwelling-house and 30 acres of land, and pays 3*s.* 10*d.* rent in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days.

44. Richard Child[36] holds 1 dwelling-house and 30 acres of land, and pays 3*s.* 10*d.* rent in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days.

These two—namely, Richard Blakette and Richard Child—are bound to do 1 day's ploughing, if they have a plough, as above. And they are bound to harrow for 1 day, and the work is worth (to the lord) 2*d.* And they are bound to thresh 2 bushels of corn or rye, and the work is worth $\frac{3}{4}d.$ And they will thresh 5 bushels of oats, and the work is worth $\frac{3}{4}d.$ They are also bound to hoe for 1 day, and the work is worth 1*d.* And they are bound to do haymaking in the lord's meadow for 1 day, and the work is worth 1*d.* And they will give 4 days to reaping the lord's corn in autumn when called on to do so, and each such day's work is worth $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ And they will cart the lord's corn in autumn for 1 day, and the work is worth 4*d.*

45. Thomas Broune holds $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of land, and pays 6*d.* rent in equal instalments at the 4 quarter-days.

46. Peter Roulond holds a farmsteading (? or a kitchen-garden), and pays 4*d.* rent in equal instalments on the 4 quarter-days.

47. John the Miller has a dwelling-house which belongs to the holding of Roger Wyccks, and pays $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ rent at the 4 quarters—namely, $\frac{1}{2}d.$ each quarter, and $\frac{1}{2}d.$ extra at Michaelmas.

48. John of Eton holds a plot of ground for which he pays 2*d.* rent in equal instalments at the 4 quarter-days.

49. Thomas Cheseman holds a dwelling-house and 2 acres of land, and pays 10*d.* in equal instalments on

Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra.

50. Hugo de Bungay tenet terram que quondam fuit Thome le Charrer reddit xviiij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra.

51. Idem Hugo tenet tenementum que fuit [*sic*] Ricardi Arnald reddit iij*s.* iiij ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter pro omni seruicio.

52. Rogerus Atteponde tenet j acram dim' terre reddit x*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit ij gallinas ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra.

53. Laurencius le fforester tenet j messuagium ij acr' terre reddit viij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra. Et dabit iij oua ad Pasch' prec' ut supra.

54. Idem Laurencius tenet ix acras terre reddit iij*s.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

55. Idem Laurencius tenet j acram terre que fuit Walteri le herde et reddit inde iiij*d.*

56. Willelmus de Aldenham tenet iiij acras terre reddit xvj*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

57. Idem Willelmus tenet iij acras dim' terre de terris que quondam fuerunt Cecil' Asketyn reddit xiiij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

58. Idem Willelmus tenet messuagium redd' ob' ad festum sancti Michaelis. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra.

59. Willelmus Asketyn tenet j messuagium j acr' dim' terre reddit viij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra.

60. Philippus Wodesoure tenet j messuagium xiij acr' dim' terre reddit ij*s.* viij*d.* ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit iiij aucas ad festum sancti Petri ad uinculam [*sic*] prec' ut supra. Et iij gallinas ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra.

61. Johannes Aleyn tenet j messuagium ij acr' terre reddit xiiij*d.* ob' ad predictos iiij terminos videlicet ad quemlibet terminum iij*d.* ob' [f. 30 *a*] et vlterius ad festum sancti Michaelis ob'.

62. Reginaldus Attehill tenet j messuaglum iij Rod'

the aforesaid quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above.

50. Hugo de Bungay holds a field which was formerly Thomas the Charrer's, and pays 18*d.* rent in equal instalments at the aforesaid quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above.

51. The same Hugo has a holding which was Richard Arnald's. He pays 3*s.* 4*d.* rent in equal instalments at the aforesaid quarter-days in lieu of all service.

52. Roger Atteponde holds 1½ acres of land, and pays 10*d.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days, and he will supply 2 fowls at Christmas, value as above.

53. Laurence the Forester holds 1 dwelling-house and 2 acres of land. He pays 8*d.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days, and he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above; and 3 eggs at Easter, value as above.

54. The same Laurence holds 9 acres of land, for which he pays 3*s.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days.

55. The same Laurence holds 1 acre of land which was Walter the Herd's, and he pays 4*d.* for it.

56. William of Aldenham holds 4 acres of land, and pays 16*d.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days.

57. The same William holds 3½ acres of land, of the lands formerly held by Cecil' Asketyn, and pays 14*d.* rent in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days.

58. The same William holds a dwelling-house, for which he pays ½*d.* at Michaelmas. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above.

59. William Asketyn has a dwelling-house and 1½ acres of land, and pays 8*d.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above.

60. Phillip Wodesoure has a dwelling-house and 13½ acres of land, for which he pays 2*s.* 8*d.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days. And he will supply 4 geese on the feast of Peter's Chains (August 1), value as above; and 3 fowls at Christmas, value as above.

61. John Aleyne has a house and 2 acres of land, and pays 14½*d.* on the aforesaid quarter-days—namely, 3½*d.* each quarter, and ½*d.* extra at Michaelmas.

62. Reginald Attehill has a dwelling-house and 3 roods

terre reddit iiij*d*. ob ad predictos iiij terminos videlicet ad quemlibet terminum j*d*. et ulterius ad festum sancti Michaelis ob'.

63. Galfridus Aleyn tenet j messuagiun reddit iiij*d*. ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra.

64. Johannes Schadd tenet j messuagium reddit xij*d*. ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

65. Cecil' Jordan tenet j messuagium reddit v*d*. ob' ad iiij predictos terminos videlicet ad quemlibet terminum j*d*. quad' et vlterius ad festum sancti Michaelis ob'.

66. Rogerus Prat tenet j messuagium reddit ij*d*. ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

67. Willelmus le Whyte tenet j messuagium reddit j*d*. ad Natiuitatem domini.

68. Simon de seynt Panecras tenet j acram terre reddit vj*d*. ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter. Et dabit j gallinam ad Natiuitatem domini prec' ut supra.

69. Willelmus Liueryche tenet j acram terre reddit vj*d*. ad predictos iiij terminos equaliter.

70. Idem Willelmus tenet j messuagium de ten' Atteloft reddit j*d*. ad Pasch'.

71. Summa redditus assise Custumar' per annum iiij*li*. iij*s*. et non plus quia tenementum Johannis Keleburne quod solebat reddere iiij*s*. x*d*. est in manu domini videlicet ad festum Natiuitatis domini xx*s*. viij*d*. ob' quad'. Ad festum Pasche xx*s*. viij*d*. ob' quad'. Ad festum Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste xx*s*. vij*d*. ob' quad'. Et ad festum sancti Michaelis xx*s*. x*d*. ob' quad'.

Summa consuetudinum de Medsiluer ad festum Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste x*d*.

Summa aucarum de Redd' Custumar' ad festum sancti Petri ad uincula viij auce que valent ij*s*. viij*d*.

Summa gallinarum de redd' Custumar' ad festum Natiuitatis domini xlv galline que valent vij*s*. vj*d*.

(f. 30 *b*) Summa ouorum de Reddit' Custumar' ad Pasch' que valent ——.

72. Summa operum de consuetudine triturationis frumenti et auene ij opera que valent j*d*. ob'.

of land, and he pays 4½*d.* on the aforesaid quarter-days—namely, 1*d.* each quarter, and ½*d.* extra at Michaelmas.

63. Galfrid Aleyne has a dwelling-house, and pays 4*d.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above.

64. John Schadd has a dwelling-house, for which he pays 12*d.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days.

65. Cecil' Jordan has a dwelling-house, and pays 5½*d.* on the aforesaid quarter-days—namely, 1¼*d.* each quarter, and ½*d.* extra at Michaelmas.

66. Roger Prat holds a dwelling-house, and pays 2*d.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days.

67. William the Whyte holds 1 dwelling-house, and pays 1*d.* at Christmas.

68. Simon of St. Panecras holds an acre of land, and pays 6*d.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days. And he will supply 1 fowl at Christmas, value as above.

69. William Liveryche has an acre of land, and pays 6*d.* in equal instalments on the aforesaid quarter-days.

70. The same William has a dwelling-house belonging to Atteloft's holding, and pays 1*d.* at Easter.

71. The total of the payments of the assise of the customary tenants is £4 3*s.* a year. (It is not more, because John Keleburne's holding, which used to pay 4*s.* 10*d.*, is in the Lord's possession.) The quarterly payments are:

At Christmas, 20*s.* 8¾*d.*
At Easter, 20*s.* 8¾*d.*
At the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24), 20*s.* 7¾*d.*
At Michaelmas, 20*s.* 10¾*d.*

Total of the dues of medsilver at the feast of St. John the Baptist's Nativity, 10*d.*

Total of the geese to be provided by the customary tenants at the feast of Peter's Chains (August 1): 8 geese, worth 2*s.* 8*d.*

Total of fowls to be provided by the customary tenants at Christmas: 45 fowls, worth 7*s.* 6*d.*

Total of eggs to be provided by the customary tenants at Easter: , worth .

72. Total number of days' labour due according to custom in threshing corn and oats: 2 days, worth 1½*d.*

Summa operum de consuetudine herciature xxxv opera que valent xix*d*. prec' cuiuslibet operis ob' preter j quod valet ij*d*.

Summa operum de consuetudine cariacionis fimorum xxv opera dim' que valent ij*s*. ix*d*.

Summa operum de consuetudine sarclacionis bladi j opus quod valet j*d*.

Summa operum de consuetudine leuacionis feni xxiiij iij opera dim' que valent iij*s*. vj*d*. quad' prec' cuiuslibet operis ob' preter j quod valet j*d*.

Summa operum de consuetudine cariacionis feni xvj opera dim' que valent ij*s*. ix*d*.

73. Summa operum manualium inter festum sancti Michaelis et sancte Marie in Marcio xlviij opera que valent iiij*s*.

Summa operum manualium inter festum sancte Marie in Marcio et sancti Johannis Baptiste xxij opera que valent ij*s*. ix*d*.

Summa operum inter festum Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste et sancti Michaelis xliiij opera que valent vij*s*. iiij*d*.

Summa precariarum ad bladum [? blad', blada] domini metendum [? metenda, metend'] in autumpno xxxviij precarie que valent iiij*s*. vij*d*. ob'.

Summa operum cariacionis bladi domini in autumpno xxxiiij que valent v*s*. x*d*. prec' cuiuslibet ij*d*. preter j quod valet iiij*d*.

74. Item dicunt quod omnes Custumararii dant de communi tallagio ad festum sancti Martini xx*s*. ij*d*. et non plus. Quia tenementum Johannis Keleburne quod solebat reddere de talagio ij*s*. est in manu domini.

75 (f. 31 *a*). Item dicunt quod quilibet predictorum Custumariorum dabit pro quolibet porco superannato ad festum sancti Martini j*d*. et pro porco minoris etatis ob'[37] et valet illa consuetudo communibus annis iij*s*. Et sic extenditur.

76. Item dicunt quod sunt ibi de certo fine ad landay de hokeday iiij*s*.[38]

77. Item dicunt quod placita perquisita Cur' cum Releuiis heriettis et finibus terrarum[39] valent per annum xxx*s*.

Total number of days' labour due according to custom in harrowing: 35 days' work, worth 19*d.*, each day's work being valued at ½*d.*, besides one worth 2*d.*

Total number of days' labour due according to custom in carting the manure: 25½ days' work, worth 2*s.* 9*d.*

Total number of days' labour due according to custom for hoeing the corn: 1 day's work, worth 1*d.*

Total number of days' labour due according to custom for haymaking: 27½ days' work, worth 3*s.* 6¼*d.*; value of each day's work ½*d.*, besides one worth 1*d.*

Total number of days' labour due according to custom in carting the hay: 16½ days' work, worth 2*s.* 9*d.*

73. Total number of days' work between Michaelmas and Lady Day in March: 48 days' work, worth 4*s.*

Total number of days' work between Lady Day in March and the feast of St. John the Baptist: 22 days' work, worth 2*s.* 9*d.*

Total number of days' work between the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist and Michaelmas: 48 days' work, worth 7*s.* 4*d.*

Total number of rogatory days' work to be furnished for reaping the lord's corn in autumn: 38 such days, worth 4*s.* 7½*d.*

Total number of days' work in carting the lord's corn in autumn: 34 days' work, worth 5*s.* 10*d.*, at 2*d.* a day, besides one which is worth 4*d.*

74. They also say that all the customary tenants pay a common tallage at Martinmas (November 11), which amounts in all to 20*s.* 2*d.*, and not more, because the holding of John Keleburne, which used to pay 2*s.* for tollage, is in the lord's possession.

75. They also say that each of the customary tenants aforesaid will pay 1*d.* at Martinmas (November 11) for every pig he has over a year old, and ½*d.* for every porker not so old.[37] And the dues from this source are worth 3*s.* in ordinary years. And it is so valued.

76. They also say that a certain fine on Hokeday Monday[38] yields 4*s.*

77. They also say that the fees and perquisites of the manor court, together with the reliefs, heriots, and fines on the transfer of land,[39] bring in 30*s.* a year.

NOTES

[1] The use of the words *extenta* and *extendere*, in the sense of valuation and to value, appears to be peculiar to England. The expression occurs also in Mediæval French: 'Par mesmes les jourours soient les terres *extendues* a la very valuë' (Du Cange, *s.v.*).

[2] The Benedictine monks were 'brothers'; the word 'friar' was confined to the 'Orders four'—the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Carmelites—although, of course, the Franciscans had lay-brothers.

[3] 'The years' (in these mediæval accounts) 'are generally reckoned by the regnal dates of the kings. Those who are experienced in documents of this epoch are well aware how great is the confusion in the style of the first two Edwards. Edward of Carnarvon is rarely called Edward II., but is occasionally distinguished as *Edvardus filius Edvardi*' (Rogers's 'History,' etc., vol. ii., p. xli).

The date of our valuation is 1312.

[4] For the history of English surnames, see an excellent article by Canon Isaac Taylor in Chambers's 'Encyclopædia' (edition of 1895), vol. vii., p. 378. Many of the surnames in this rent-roll are taken from localities—*e.g.*, the Attehills, Attelofts, Attemores, Atteponds, William of Aldenham, John of Eton, John of Kilburn, Robert of Kyngeswell (the main street of Hampstead), and Simon of St. Pancras. Others take their surnames from their occupations, such as 'the Fowler' and 'the Woodward,' etc. The 'childe' is equivalent to 'prince' and 'knight.' We have Child Roland and Child Waters in ballad poetry; and Spenser calls Prince Arthur 'child' in the 'Fairie Queen.' Prince, Knight, and Young are still common surnames. John the Miller, Nicholas the Herd, and perhaps Laurence the Forester, appear to have been really what their titles denote.

[5] Probably the lord had a claim to part of the manure, but I have not been able to find any other example. In Yorkshire 'nessy' is still used in the sense of 'privy.'

[6] The *curtis* was the farmhouse with its stables, outhouses, and precincts, while the *curtilagium* was the farmyard and kitchen-garden, and was distinct from the grange. (We have *grangicum et curtilagium* in a passage quoted by Du Cange, *s.v.*) I am inclined to think that in the present passage the 'orchard' is meant by the 'garden,' and that the *curtilagium* means the 'kitchen-garden.' I may here explain the ordinary arrangements of the mediæval manor house: It had three principal rooms—the hall, which was used for business and for the meetings of the manorial court; the dormitory; and the 'solar' or parlour, which was the sitting-room, and the sunniest room in the house. The bailiff occasionally lived in the manor house when the lord was absent, but at Hampstead the house must always have been occupied by the resident curate and the monks from Westminster. The bailiff would therefore live with the rest of the farm establishment at the Grange. There was also usually a garden and orchard; onions, leeks, green peas, and probably cabbage, were grown in the garden, while apples and pears were the fruit-trees. Plums were scarcely

known. Most manors made their own cider. For other details, see Rogers's 'History,' etc., vol. i., chap. ii.

[7] Tallage was a land-tax levied by the King from the Crown tenants only, but it is evident that the latter levied a cess from their serfs, in addition to the rent, on the pretext that they had to pay the Crown. The ordinary tallage levied by the Crown was one-tenth of the rental, but sometimes it was as much as one-fifteenth. From an expression at the end of this rent-roll, it would appear that the cess also was made to vary according to the demands of the Crown. Similar cesses are common in India. After 1332 the tallage was merged in the subsidies.

[8] The perch of to day = 30¼ square yards. It is therefore slightly larger than the perch of Edward II.'s time, supposing the length of the foot to be the same.

[9] I cannot identify these localities, but they must have either been, like the home-field, in the immediate neighbourhood of the manor house, or to the west, north-west, or south-west of it. Pirlegh and Westhalne adjoined Hagebussh, which may be rendered as the 'hedges' or 'hawthorns.' In later documents we find 'Frognal field,' the meadow which stretched from the church to the windmill hill; and 'East field,' in which the Prior had a holding, and of which the land now occupied by the University College School is doubtless a part. Pirlegh, also spelt 'Pyrlegh' and 'Purlegh,' is the modern Purley or Purleigh, a not uncommon name. Ryschote = Ryefield.

[10] Schote = Schott, 'a nook, an angle, a field, a plot of land,' according to Halliwell ('Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words'). It often occurs in compounds, such as Aldershot, Bagshot, etc. A part of the town of Constance, in the fourteenth century, was called the 'Schoten.' In Low German, 'Schott' means a bulk-head.

[11] On = *onoma*, which is sometimes used as an equivalent for *nomen* in Low Latin.

[12] Halliwell defines a meadow as 'a field enclosed for hay,' in contradistinction to 'pasture.' 'In the absence of artificial grasses and winter roots, natural meadow was exceedingly valuable, and bore, comparatively speaking, a high rental' (Rogers).

At Oxford meadow-land fetched always 5s., and sometimes as much as 8s., an acre during these very years, and this was a common rate elsewhere. Of course, the price varied much according as the meadow was in the neighbourhood of a town or not, but even in remote places it was rarely below 2s. 6d. For prices of grass, see Rogers's 'History,' etc., vol. ii., pp. 179, 180.

[13] There is an evident error in the total here, as well as in some of the totals at the end of the rent-roll. As the demesne lands were always managed by the lord's bailiff, the jurors could scarcely be expected to have a perfectly accurate knowledge of them.

[14] This windmill was, doubtless, on the site still known as Windmill Hill. The income and repairs are constantly mentioned in the bailiff's accounts. The mill continued to work down to the end of the seventeenth century. John the Miller lived in the village, and not at the mill.

[15] Notehirst is possibly the equivalent of Southwood *notos* being

sometimes used for 'south.' Sheppbrighull may have something to do with the hill where sheep were sheared.

[16] Blackstone defines 'pannage' as 'a common of pasture for pigs only.'

[17] *Haia=haga*, a hedge or copse. In English place-names it takes the form of 'hay,' 'hayes,' 'hedge,' 'haw' (hawthorn), 'ha-ha,' etc. We have it also in the Hague (La Haye), and some other foreign names. The word *certa* does not occur in the dictionaries, but some kind of copse-ware must be meant. There is a verb *sertare=occludere*, from which we might infer *serta*=hurdles. According to a writer in the *Globe* copse-ware consists chiefly of hurdles, made in autumn and early winter, barrel-hoops made from the pliant staves of the hazels, and "spars," which are strips of split hazel used by thatchers to secure the thatch and the corn-stacks. These two last are made in early summer; skewers, pegs, and props for clothes'-lines are also made from these loppings.

[18] Rogers's 'History,' etc., vol. i., p. 64, says: 'Wood was of high relative value in the Middle Ages, just as it now is in Germany.' It was in great demand for building material, and all manner of agricultural implements, but, above all, for firewood. Sir W. Petty, writing in 1677, says that the use of coal for domestic purposes was scarcely known in London before the middle of the seventeenth century. It took half a century more to become general.

[19] The Latin *bruera* is 'heath' or 'scrub,' the French *bruyère*. The income from the heath was, I imagine, from the sale, not of heather, but of brushwood. *Bruera* means both.

[20] Sir Roger le Brabazon, or Brabanzon, was Chief Justice to Edward II., and held the subordinate manor of Belsize, which he bequeathed to the convent of St. Peter's, Westminster, on his death in 1316. The post-mortem inquisition of that year shows the extent of his estate (*vide* chap. i. and note).

[21] The Hampstead Temple belonged to the Knights Hospitallers, and was held by them for the whole period throughout which these Westminster records extend. They paid 5s. quarterly for it. The land was to the west of Oak Hill Park. The Hospitallers held at this time a large manor in Highbury, and some time after 1420 they took the lease of the Hampstead manor and domain lands.

[22] The Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, now known as the Feast of Peter's Chains, falls on August 1. This date is also frequently called, as in our manuscript, the *Gula Augusti*. Summer was supposed to last from *Hokeday* (a fortnight after Easter) to August 1 (O.S.). In Anglo-Saxon times this day was celebrated as Lammas or the 'loaf-mass,' the prototype of our harvest festival. According to our corrected calendar, the feast would fall on August 9 in the fourteenth century.

[23] Oxen were universally used for ploughing down to the sixteenth century, and are sometimes still so used in the South of England. Sir T. Moore has an interesting discussion in his 'Utopia' on the relative advantages of using oxen or horses for ploughing.

[24] A practical agriculturist informed Dr. Duthoit that in the South of England, as soon as harvest is over and the weather suitable, the

ploughing for winter sowing begins, and the seed may be got in at any time between October and December. For the spring sowings the ploughing goes on when the weather is propitious, and horses and men are available, and the seed is got in between February and April.

[25] According to the same authority, harrowing is of two kinds: (1) With the heavy harrow before the seed is got in, so that a light seed-bed may be obtained, and (2) with a light harrow after the seed is sown, in order to cover the seed with the earth.

[26] *Reprise*, or rather reprises, for the word is generally used in the plural, is a technical term to denote deductions from money received on account of outlay incurred in the matter. Here it refers to the cost of food. It may be pointed out that the price affixed to the tenants' services is not a hire to be paid to them, but the saving to the lord which their labour is worth. The customary tenants who performed these services held their lands at much lower rents than the crofters. The lands of the latter were in the immediate vicinity of the village, and therefore doubtless more valuable. But this by no means accounts for the difference between a rent of 1½d. or 2d. an acre and 5d. or 6d. an acre. The services rendered by the customary tenants, and from which the crofters were free, accounts for the difference in part.

[27] Hoeing is begun as soon as the seed is germinated, and is done from time to time until the young corn is too high to admit of it. Hoeing may begin in March and go on till May.

[28] The drink supplied to the labourers was probably cider or mead, but ale was also used, especially in monasteries.

[29] *Precariæ*. The tenants were bound to mow the meadows and reap the crops when called upon to do so. The time for mowing or reaping depended on the weather, and could not be fixed beforehand, and the tenants were liable to be called on at any time for this duty. These days are therefore called 'precariæ,' French *prières*.

[30] It is not quite certain for what word these letters p'p's stand, but I have little doubt that it is *præpositus*, the villager who was charged with the management of the farm. He answered to the French *intendant* and the *mukadam* of Northern India, and differed from the bailiff only in the fact that instead of a salary in money he held his land rent and service free. In the present case the *præpositus* also gets a bushel of corn weekly, and according to Rogers ('History,' etc., vol. i., p. 288) the bailiff got a quarter of wheat (=8 bushels) every six or eight weeks. The two therefore exactly correspond. Moreover, we find a *præpositus*, or village headman, in charge of the Hampstead manor later on in the century. According to Cunningham the *præpositus* was often elected by the villagers, and in their interests, but this was not the case here. Another possible reading of p'p's is *proprius*, or slave, but this reading seems to be absurd: (1) p'p's is not the usual abbreviation for *proprius*; (2) the condition applies only to the customary tenants, and not to their inferiors, the crofters; (3) such a condition is contrary to the whole spirit of the times.

[31] The use of *liberatio* in the sense of livery (*livraison*, *livrée*) is common. It meant the food, drink, and clothing, etc., supplied to a servant at fixed times as part of his wage. Some manor-houses had a 'livery' cupboard.

[32] There appears to be some clerical error here. *Medict* may stand for *mediet(atem)* or 'half' or *medietatem dictorum serv.*, etc.

[33] These women paid 5d. an acre, while the ordinary rent of the preceding tenants varied from 1½d. and 2d. to 4d. They also are liable to field work like the men. Down to 1350 men and women worked alike in the fields, and their pay was the same.

[34] Nicholas the herd heads the list of cottars and crofters, which is disturbed by the introduction of the two Hendon tenants; but several of the customary tenants hold crofts in addition to their holding. These crofts, in some cases at least, adjoined the village. The predecessor of Nicholas was Walter the herd. Both customary tenants and crofters pay in poultry. Poultry rents were almost universal.

[35] I have not been able to discover any explanation of medsilver, medeselver, or medesilver, for it is spelt in many ways, and occurs in various documents. As 'silver' means cash, it must have been a cash composition in discharge of an obligation to supply 'med,' possibly mead, which was a fermented drink made with honey, or perhaps the dye called 'meda,' or some other article specially required at midsummer. Brand ('Popular Antiquities,' etc., vol. i., p. 403, Bohn) furnishes an analogous case of 'salt' silver paid at Martinmas by the tenants who ought to have carried the lord's salt from the market to the manor, when the salting for the winter's meat was to be done.

[36] Richard Blakette and Richard Child are the only customary tenants who possessed large farms. Their farms must have been very considerable since their holdings in Hendon were probably larger than those in Hampstead. Small farms were the rule in Hampstead until house and field were swallowed up by brick and mortar in the nineteenth century. Blakette and Child held the outlying lands on the Hendon border at a very low rent, and probably resided on their land. Their cottages formed the nucleus of the hamlet of Child's Hill.

[37] This custom is still observed in some parts of England.

[38] 'Landay' is probably a phonetic misspelling for Lunday—*Lunæ die*, or Monday. Hokeday was a riotous festival held on the Monday and Tuesday of the second week after Easter. It was the commencement of summer. Monday was kept by the men and Tuesday by the women according to some accounts; others reverse the parts. 'On both days the men and women alternately with great merriment intercepted the public roads with ropes, and pulled passengers to them, from whom they extorted money, to be laid out in pious uses.' The festival was traditionally said to commemorate the expulsion of the Danes in 1002 A.D., but it is probably much older. Some antiquaries derive the name from the word to 'hock' or make a mock of; others connect it with the German 'hocken,' to bind, because the women bound the men. Brand, 'Popular Antiquities,' vol. i., p. 184 *ff.*, Bohn, gives a full account of this obsolete festival.

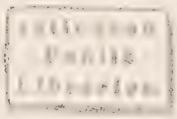
[39] All these are legal terms. *Placitum* is in mediæval language the fine paid for permission to absent one's self from the manorial court. *Relief* is the fine paid by an heir on his succession to the estate. *Heriot* is the right of the lord to seize the best beast or other chattel belonging to a tenant deceased. The *fines* on lands were the fines payable when holdings changed hands.

APPENDIX IX

THE HAMPSTEAD STALL IN CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL

The so-called 'Ecclesiastical Taxation' of Pope Nicholas mentions three Hampsteads — the manor in Middlesex, which belonged to St. Peter, Westminster, a Hampstead (not a manor) in the diocese of Winchester, which belonged to the Prior of Christ Church, and in which the Prior of Bradensstock had a carucate of land worth 12*s*., and, lastly, a Hampstead which supported a sub-deacon's stall in Chichester Cathedral. An article on the 'Early Statutes of Chichester Cathedral' in *Archæologia*, vol. xlv. (1874), mentions this latter Hampstead on three occasions (*vide* pp. 145, 147, 154), and the compiler of the index to the *Archæologia*, vols. i.-l. (1888), puts down this Hampstead as the Hampstead in Middlesex. But the author of the article nowhere says so, and a reference to p. 154 (which the compiler omits) shows that the Middlesex Hampstead cannot be meant, for the Sussex Hampstead supported a stall in Chichester Cathedral in Bishop Curtey's time (1570-1582), while the Middlesex Hampstead belonged to the Wroth family. The Rev. C. Deedes, Prebendary of Chichester, tells me that there is a 'Hampstead Farm' about two and a half miles north-east of Arlington in East Sussex, from which the Hampstead stall in Chichester derived part of its income (*vide* Dallaway, 'West Sussex,' vol. i.). There is another Hampstead near Bosham, three or four miles west of Chichester, near the Hants border, but this name does not appear in the old maps, and is possibly of modern

origin; moreover, this Hampstead does not fit in with the other properties which maintained the stall. Mr. Deedes concludes that it was the Hampstead farm in Sussex which gave its name to the stall in Chichester, and that although there never was a parish, there probably was a hamlet of this name. In any case, the compiler of the index to the *Archæologia* is wrong, as he is in the reference he gives to Belsize.



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